SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

THE JEWEL OF THE MISSIONS

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+ John J. Cantwell.

Bishop of Monterey and Los Angeles.

The Missions and Missionaries of California

New Series Local History

San Juan Capistrano Mission

BY

Fr. ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O.F.M.

Author of "Missions and Missionaries," "Franciscans in California," "Franciscans in Arizona," "Holy Man of Santa Clara," Etc.

"Colligite quae superaverunt fragmenta, ne pereant." Joan. vi, 12

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CONTENTS

Page

CHAPTER I.

Preparation for Founding.—Patron Saint.—Viceroy Bucareli.—Cross Planted.—Indians Pleased.—Work Suspended.—Founding by Fr. Junípero Serra.—Threatened by Savages.—Mission Locality.—Grape-wine.—Indians Uncommonly Friendly and Docile. 3

CHAPTER II.

Fr. Serra Arranges the Mission Books.—Title Page of the Baptismal Register.—First Entries.—Indian Servants.—First Structures.—Fr. Serra's Church.—Gov. Felipe de Neve and His Instructions.—Allowance of the Missionaries.—Neve's Utter Meanness. 13

CHAPTER III.

Fr. Serra Confirms.—His Farewell Visit.—Interesting Items.—Site of Mission.—Statistics.—Donations.—Gov. Fages's Notes.—Building Activities.—New Church.—A Pretty Legend. 22

CHAPTER IV.

Imported Artisans Not a Success.—Fr. Santiago to Gov. Borica.—Home Manufactures. — Wife-Murder. — Reception Rooms Built. — New Church.—Master Mason at Last.—Corridors.—Contagious Diseases. Fire.—New Church Dedicated.—Transfer of Body of Fr. Fuster. . 33

CHAPTER V.

Building Activities.—An Unwelcome Visitor.—Rev. Domingo Rivas Defends the Fathers.—Missionary Changes.—The Aqueduct.—Fathers Suñer and Barona 44

CHAPTER VI.

Disputes.—Correspondence.—Indian Labor.—Hemp Culture.—Earthquake.—The Beautiful Church Ruined.—The Victims.—Old Church again Used.—Hospital Erected. 50

CHAPTER VII.

The Indians and their Habits.—Fr. Boscana's Chinigchinich.—Bouchard Invasion.—Mission Looted.—Controversy.—Dispute about Cattle . 58

Page

CHAPTER VIII.

A Scandalous Case.—Fr. Barona Illtreated by Soldiers.—Two Soldiers Repent.—Fr. Sarría's Protest.—Mexican President's Decision.—Fr. Durán on the Subject.—Bancroft's Misstatement.—Destruction of Papers.—Contribution of the Mission.—Fr. Barona Ill.—Oath of Allegiance. 69

CHAPTER IX.

Governor Echeandia.—His Emancipation Scheme.—Consequences.—Indians Turbulent.—Decay Sets In.—Report on Lands of the Mission.—Floods.—Ranchos.—Live Stock.—Question of Indian Rights to Lands.—Spanish Law on Subject. 80

CHAPTER X.

Alfred Robinson's Visit.—Pattie's Alleged Visit.—Richard Dana's Visit and Description. 95

CHAPTER XI.

Fr. Zalvidea and Fr. Boscana Exchnage Places.—Bancroft's Malice.—Death of Fr. Barona.—Bancroft's Ignorance.—Fr. Zalvidea's Pathetic Letter.—Change of Governors.—Echeandia's Trickery.—He Lords It Over the South.—Fr. Zalvidea's Reply to Echeandia. 103

CHAPTER XII.

Governor Figueroa's Emancipation Plan.—Indians Unwilling.—Lands Apportioned.—Bancroft's Statement.—Decree of Confiscation.—Inventory.—Fr. Zalvidea Defended by Fr. Durán.—Poverty of the Mission. 111

CHAPTER XIII.

New Governor Appointed.—Alvarado Refuses to Surrender the Office.—Military Force.—Bravery of the Californians.—Administrators.—Indians not Free.—Property Wasted.—Inspector Hartnell.—The Situation at San Juan Capistrano.—Indians Want Fr. Zalvidea.—Sad Incident 118

CHAPTER XIV.

Consequences of Premature Emancipation.—Immorality.—Desertions.—Fr. Durán to Fr. Zalvidea.—J. A. Estudillo's Proposal.—Fr. Zalvidea in Charge.—Appoints Augustin Janssens Mayordomo.—Indians Turbulent.—Interesting Letters of Fr. Zalvidea. 125

Page

CHAPTER XV.

Fr. Zalvidea on the Alert.—A Pious Fund on a Small Scale.—Enormous Land Grants.—Fr. Zalvidea's Savings.—Mayordomo Janssens Honest.—Pueblo of San Juan Capistrano Dissolved.—Claims. . . 134

CHAPTER XVI.

Land Lots Assigned.—The Beneficiaries.—Surviving Indians.—Hittell on San Juan Capistrano.—Alvarado's Regulations.—San Juan de Argüello.—Juan Bandini in Charge.—Fr. Zalvidea. 140

CHAPTER XVII.

Bandini's Confession.—The Pious Fund.—Doctrine of Liberalism.—Duflot Mofras's Description and Foolish Figures.—Three Pathetic Letters. 147

CHAPTER XVIII.

San Juan Capistrano's Degradation.—Governor Micheltorena's Decree.—Pio Pico's Determination.—His Illegal Decree.—Invalid Deed.—Pio Retires.—Major W. H. Emory's Account.—His Opinion on the Ownership of the Mission Property. 155

CHAPTER XIX.

United States Patent Restoring the Mission Property.—The Law on the Subject.—The Survey.—The Tracts of Land Restored.—President Abraham Lincoln's Signature the Last Act in the Drama . . . 164

CHAPTER XX.

Life at the Mission.—Mission Register.—First Entries.—Important Entry No. 40.—Fr. Serra Administers Confirmation.—His Second Visit.—The Original Chapel.—The Banner Year.—Conditions for Reception of Baptism.—Labor Involved.—Earthquake.—Rich Harvest.—New Baptistry. 170

CHAPTER XXI.

Autos-de-Visita, or Canonical Visitations.—Last Resident Franciscan, and last Visiting Missionaries.—Baptism of Whites.—Adopted Indians.—Without Shepherd.—Rev. José Rosáles in Charge.—Parish Contributions. 181

Page

CHAPTER XXII.

First Marriage.—Confirmation Register.—Confirmations.—Bishop José S. Alemany at the Mission.—Episcopal Visitations.—Burial Register.—First Burials.—San Juan Capistrano el Viejo.—Death of Fr. Fustér.—Measles.—Earthquake Victims.—Death of Fr. Barona.—Death of Fr. Oliva.—Miss Lorenzana. 192

CHAPTER XXIII.

The First Resident Secular Priest.—Rev. José Maria Rosáles.—Second Burial Register.—Some Entries.—Rt. Rev. Thaddeus Amat, C.M.—Disappearance of the Indians.—Rev. Vicente Llover.—A Zealous Apostle.—Rev. José Mut's Mistake.—His Zeal.—Incurs Animosity of Land Sharks.—Fr. Serra's Church Vacated.—First Ecclesiastical Function in the Chapel. 202

CHAPTER XXIV.

Biographical Sketches of the Missionaries Who Retired to the Mother College, or Died at Mission San Juan Capistrano.—Fr. Gregório Amúrrio.—Fr. Pablo de Mugártegui.—Fr. Vicente Fustér.—Fr. José Faura.—Fr. Juan José de Santiago.—Fr. José Barona. . . . 212

CHAPTER XXV.

Biographical Sketches, Continued.—Fr. Vicente Pascual Oliva.—List of the Resident and Visiting Missionaries or Priests Who Officiated at Mission San Juan Capistrano. 224

APPENDIX

A.—San Juan Capistrano. Biographical Sketch 233
B.—Original Site of Mission San Juan Capistrano 235
C.—A Morning Hymn. English Translation 241
D.—The Bells of Mission San Juan Capistrano 242
E.—Indian Rancherias of Mission San Juan Capistrano 244
F.—Language of the Indians of Mission San Juan Capistrano . . 245
G.—The Landmarks Club and Mission Restoration 246

ILLUSTRATIONS

Page

Cover Design by W. H. Sharp, Los Angeles.

Rt. Rev. John Joseph Cantwell, D.D., Bishop of Monterey and Los Angeles . . . . . Frontispiece

Old Franciscan Missions in California. Map 2

Fr. Junípero Serra, Founder of the Missions 5

Ground Plan of San Juan Capistrano Mission, by Arthur B. Benton, Los Angeles 9

Title Page of Baptismal Register. Facsimile, Reduced 14

Entries in Baptismal Register. Facsimile, Reduced 17

Franciscan Friars as They Came and Departed, by Alexander Harmer . 20

Rear of Fr. Serra's Church, by Hugo D. Pohl 23

Sanctuary and Sacristy of Stone Church, by Rexford Newcomb . . 27

Spanish Morning Hymn with Music 30

Doorway in Sanctuary, by Professor Rexford Newcomb . . . 34

Pillars and Sanctuary Door. Details 38

San Juan Capistrano Mission. Painting by F. G. Behre . . . 42

Group of Five Mission Views 48

Roof of Stone Church. Construction. Details 52

Church Ruin. Details. Transept to Left 56

Fr. Gerónimo Boscana, Author of "Chinigchinich" 61

Details in Church. Triple Arch in Patio, by Rexford Newcomb . . 65

An Arch in Stone Church, by Rexford Newcomb 67

Arch in Nave of Church. Details 71

Entrance to Sanctuary. Transept to Right 76

Niches in Rear of Sanctuary, etc. 81

Long Building and Olive Mill 84

Mission Cattle Brand. U. S. Land Surveyor's Office, San Francisco . 86

Roof of Pozolera, etc., before Restoration by Landmarks Club . . 90

Group of Four Mission Views 96

Rev. St. John O'Sullivan at Fountain in Rear of Belfry 100

Fr. Serra's Church before Restoration. Courtesy of C. F. Lummis . 106

Group of Six Views. Father O'Sullivan in Center 108

Fr. Serra's Church Reroofed. Courtesy of Charles F. Lummis . . 113

Corridor along Fr. Serra's Church. Triple Arch in Distance . . . 120

Arches of Restored Corridor along Fr. Serra's Church 128

Eliptical Arches in Front Wing. Courtesy of George W. James . . 131

Long Building, etc., before Restoration. Courtesy of Hon. Grant Jackson, Los Angeles 137

San Juan Capistrano from Northeast. Long Building 143

Corridors of Pátio before Restoration by Landmarks Club . . . 150

Page

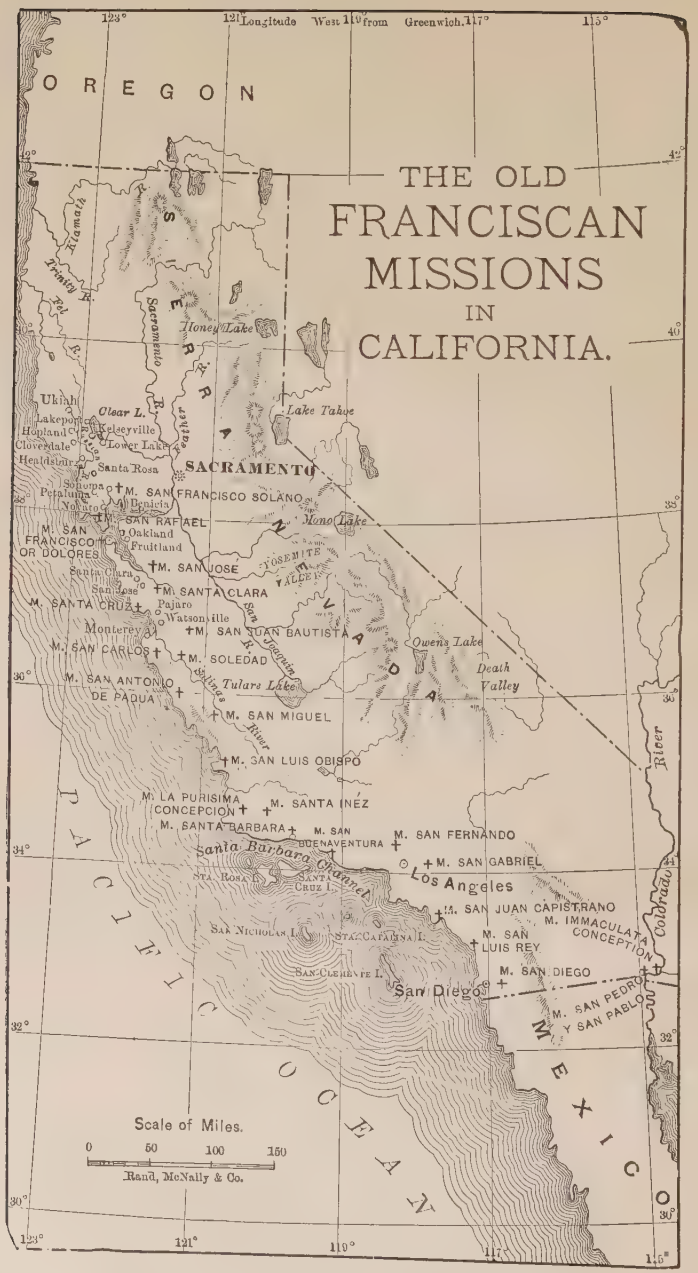
Rear Corridor before Restoration. Courtesy Hon. Grant Jackson . 158
Rear Corridor after Restoration 162
Principal Portion of Property Restored. U. S. Land Surveyor's Office . 167
Facsimile Signature of President Abraham Lincoln 169
First Entries in Baptismal Register. Facsimile, Reduced . . . 172
Table of Spiritual Results of the Mission 175-176
Arches in the Pátio. Courtesy Hon. Grant Jackson 177
Table of Material Results. Live Stock 182
Table of Material Results. Agricultural Products . . . 184-185
Double Door of Former Vestry, by Watkins in 1776. Courtesy Charles B. Turrill 188
Door to Sala, now Chapel. Courtesy George W. James . . . 190
Title Page of Marriage Register. Facsimile, Reduced 193
Detailed Drawings by Prof. Rexford Newcomb in *Western Architect* . 196
Corner of Corridors near Rear of Fr. Serra's Church 199
Mission Viewed from Southwest, by Watkins in 1776.—C. B. Turrill . 203
Mission Seen from Southeast, by Watkins in 1776.—C. B. Turrill . . 207
Group of Five Views 210
Signature of Fr. Vicente Fustér. Facsimile 215
Sanctuary of Present Chapel, former Reception Room 216
Signature of Fr. José Faura. Facsimile 218
Signature of Fr. Norberto Santiago. Facsimile 219
Earliest Photograph of Mission, Taken in 1860 by Edward Vischer . 220
Signature of Fr. José Barona. Facsimile 222
Signature of Fr. Vicente Oliva. Facsimile 224
Rev. Miguel Durán Reciting His Breviary 226
San Juan Capistrano, Patron of the Mission 232
First Baptism in California. Drawing by Alexander Harmer . . . 239
El Camino Reál. Drawn in 1850 by Lieutenant Cave J. Couts . . 236
Old Acú and Manner of Ringing Mission Bells 243
Attempt at Rebuilding Stone Church with Adobes 247
Monument to Fr. Junípero Serra 250

SECOND MILITARY DISTRICT

III

SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO MISSION

(1776-1865)


THE OLD
FRANCISCAN
MISSIONS
IN
CALIFORNIA.
Longitude West from Greenwich.
OREGON
SIERRA NEVADA
Klamath R.
Trinity R.
Trinity Pk.
Sacramento R.
Honey Lake
Clear L.
Lake Tahoe
Ukiah
Lakeport
Hopland
Cloverdale
Healdsburg
Calistoga
Petaluma
Yountville
Oakland
Fruitland
Santa Rosa
Healdsburg
Calistoga
Colusa
Sutter Buttes
Yuba R.
Feather R.
Folsom
Placerville
Lower Lake
SACRAMENTO
M. SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO
M. SAN RAFAEL
M. SAN FRANCISCO OR DOLORES
M. SAN JOSE
M. SANTA CLARA
M. SANTA CRUZ
Pajaro
Watsonville
Monterey
M. SAN JUAN BAUTISTA
M. SAN CARLOS
M. SOLEDAD
M. SAN ANTONIO DE PADUA
San Joaquin R.
Kings River
Tulare Lake
M. SAN MIGUEL
M. SAN LUIS OBISPO
Mono Lake
YOSEMITE VALLEY
Owens Lake
Death Valley
Colorado River
M. LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION
M. SANTA INEZ
M. SANTA BARBARA
M. SAN BUENAVENTURA
M. SAN FERNANDO
M. SAN GABRIEL
Los Angeles
M. SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO
M. IMMACULATA CONCEPTION
M. SAN LUIS REY
M. SAN DIEGO
M. SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO
San Diego
Santa Barbara Channel
STA. ROSA I.
SANTA CRUZ I.
SAN NICHOLAS I.
STA. CATALINA I.
SAN CLEMENTE I.
PACIFIC OCEAN
MEXICO
Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 150
Rand, McNally & Co.

CHAPTER I.

Preparation for Founding.—Patron Saint.—Viceroy Bucareli.—Cross Planted.—Indians Pleased.—Work Suspended.—Founding by Fr. Junípero Serra.—Threatened by Savages.—Mission Locality.—Grapewine.—Indians Uncommonly Friendly and Docile.

THE founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano, at so early a date, was due to the ardent zeal of the Fr. Presidente of the Missions, Fr. Junípero Serra. At his solicitation, shortly after Mission San Diego had been established, Viceroy Bucareli addressed letters both to the Fr. Presidente and to the military commander, Don Fernando Rivera, authorizing the establishment of two more Missions in suitable localities. These letters reached Monterey on August 10, 1775. That same afternoon, Rivera personally communicated the good news to Fr. Serra at San Carlos. In his letter to the Fr. Presidente, Bucareli wrote, "do not doubt that Captain Rivera will agree to it." Both agreed that one Mission should be erected between San Diego and San Gabriel on or near the spot which the expedition of Portolá, in July, 1769, had christened San Francisco Solano. This name was not applied, however, because the viceroy had already selected the various patron saints. San Juan Capistrano was next in order, and accordingly this name was conferred. A sufficient guard was secured by reducing the number of soldiers at the presidios of Monterey and San Diego and at the neighboring Missions of San Carlos and San Diego. Fr. Serra appointed two Fathers, Fr. Fermín de Lasuén of San Carlos and Fr. Gregório Amúrrio of San Luis Obispo, who were to proceed at once with the founding of the new missionary center. He then reported to Viceroy Bucareli who, besides approving the measures taken, encouraged the Fr. Presidente by means of the following letter:

"In view of the agreement made with Comandante Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada with reference to the founding of the new Missions to which you allude in your letter of August 17 of last year (1775), Your Reverence also gives me the agreeable informa-

tion that you have determined to found, in addition to the Mission at the port of San Francisco, another under the name of San Juan Capistrano, between San Diego and San Gabriel, for which the Fathers Fermín Francisco de Lasuén and Gregório Amúrrio have been appointed, to whom have been granted the necessary guard and the other things provided by the Memorial of which Your Reverence has supplied me with a copy.

"All this information greatly increases my pleasure and very clearly reveals the tireless efforts with which Your Reverence devotes yourself to the success of these establishments. God visibly favors such faithful service as also the intentions with which the king goes to such expense. As the Missions increase and the neophytes grow in number, the land will produce copious harvests for their maintenance; and subsequent successes will be even greater according to what Your Reverence states in your letter. With this I am very much pleased. God keep you etc." [1]

"As soon as it had been resolved to establish the new Mission," Fr. Palóu writes, "the two missionaries appointed set out from Monterey, before the end of August, with the goods and the guard assigned. When they had reached Mission San Gabriel, Fr. Gregorio Amúrrio stayed there in order to put everything in readiness, so that he might be prepared to move at the first notice. Fr. Fermín de Lasuén passed on to San Diego in order to set out from that presidio with its comandante for the purpose of exploring the locality proposed. When the survey had been made and the site found suitable for the establishment, all returned to the presidio to make the necessary preparations for the immediate founding. Fr. Amúrrio at San Gabriel was notified on what day he would be expected to arrive at the new site with the goods and the cattle.

"The little troop, composed of Fr. Lasuén, Lieutenant Ortega, a sergeant, and the necessary soldiers, left San Diego toward the end of October. On arriving at the site, an *enramada* or arbor was hastily erected, near which a large Cross was constructed, raised, blessed, and venerated by all. On an altar prepared in the

[1] Palóu, *Vida,* chap. xxxix, pp. 174-175.

FR. JUNIPERO SERRA, O. F. M.,
Founder of the California Missions.

arbor, Fr. Lasuén offered up the first holy Mass. This happened on October 30, 1775, the last day of the octave after the feast of San Juan Capistrano, the patron of the Mission.[2] Formal possession was then taken of the lands and thus the beginning was made amid the rejoicings of numerous pagans who had flocked thither. They proved their satisfaction by helping to cut and bring down the timber for the chapel and the dwelling.

"The work had been pushed and good progress was made when after eight days Fr. Gregório, in obedience to the call received, came down from San Gabriel with all the goods and cattle for the new Mission. All were in a cheerful mood over the prospect of having ere long the new establishment in working order; but these hopes were dashed to pieces by the arrival of a courier on the same day with Fr. Amúrrio, from San Diego. He brought the sad news that savages had attacked and burned Mission San Diego and had killed one of its missionaries. No sooner had the lieutenant (Ortega) received the despatch than he mounted his horse, as did also the sergeant and a portion of the soldiers, and hastened to the presidio of San Diego. On leaving, he begged the Fathers to do likewise with the few soldiers he left with them. Accordingly, they suspended work on the buildings, buried the two bells, and with all the rest of the goods on pack mules, put themselves on the road to the presidio of San Diego, where they learned of the disaster in detail." [3]

It was owing to the animosity of Rivera, as we know from the narrative on San Diego, that the two Fathers Lasuén and Amúrrio were compelled to remain idle for nearly a year. Peremptory orders from Viceroy Bucareli at last put an end to the chicanery. Fr. Serra, then at San Diego, was so overjoyed when the orders arrived that he rang the bells and celebrated a High Mass in thanksgiving. Having received orders to see that Mission San Juan Capistrano be established without delay on the site previously selected, Rivera detailed a guard of ten soldiers under a corporal. Instead of sending back Fr. Lasuén to lay the foundations, Fr. Serra appointed him senior missionary of San Diego,

[2] See Appendix A for Patron Saint.

[3] Palóu, *Vida,* chap. xxxix, pp. 175-176; *Noticias,* vol. iv, pp. 116-117.

which was a far more difficult position. Then, accompanied by Fathers Pablo Mugártegui and Gregório Amúrrio, and escorted by eleven soldiers, Fr. Serra himself set out to establish Mission San Juan Capistrano. The little party arrived at the place apparently on October 30 or 31, 1776. They found the Cross erected by Fr. Lasuén still in its place. The bells were disinterred, put in position, and rung to announce to the Indians the return of the missionaries. The natives hastened to welcome the Fathers with every demonstration of joy. An arbor was quickly constructed and on the altar prepared within, the Fr. Presidente offered up the first High Mass. It was the feast of All Saints, November 1, 1776, the day ever after celebrated as the date of the formal founding of the Mission.[4] According to Bancroft, "the mission guard under Corporal Nicolas Carabanas included the soldiers Jacinto Gloria, José Antonio Peña, Francisco Peña, Pio Quinto Zuñiga, Nicholas Gómez, Matias Vega, José Dolores Domínguez, Julian Acebedo, and José Joaquín Armenta." [5]

Desiring to place the new establishment on a solid basis from the start, Fr. Palóu relates, Fr. Serra himself went to San Gabriel in order to secure some neophytes who should aid in the work of construction and in teaching the savages of this new region the advantages of a Christian life. He also procured more supplies as well as cattle, and then he hastened to rejoin the Fathers at San Juan Capistrano. On his way back, the cattle and the pack mules proceeded much too slowly for the ardor of the Fr. Presidente, and he therefore went ahead of the pack train, accompanied by only one soldier and one neophyte. Midway, about ten leagues from the Mission,[6] Fr. Serra suddenly found himself surrounded by a crowd of painted and well-armed savages who yelled and howled frightfully. He later acknowledged that at the time he thought his last hour had arrived. Some of the savages actually had put arrows to the bowstrings as though they intended to kill him and the soldier. At this turn both were saved by a ruse of the neophyte companion, who shouted to the Indians that they should

[4] Palóu, *Vida,* pp. 197-198; *Noticias* iv., p. 192.

[5] Bancroft, i, p. 303. Palóu has a corporal and ten soldiers.

[6] "A la mediania del camino, como diez leguas de la Mision."

not hurt the Father, because many soldiers were coming behind who would kill them all. Hearing this shouted in their own language, they desisted. Fr. Serra then bade them approach, which they did, all as peaceful as lambs. He made the sign of the Cross over them all, as was his custom, distributed glass beads of which they were very fond, and so left them friends. He soon reached the new Mission where the addition of new laborers and fresh supplies lent new force to the operations. Then leaving the work of conversion in the hands of Fathers Mugártegui and Amúrrio, Fr. Serra returned to his beloved San Carlos by way of San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, and San Antonio, the Missions thus far established, besides San Francisco which, however, lay farther to the north.[7]

Corporal Nicolás Beltrán, under date of November 12th, reported the hostile demonstration of the savages against Fr. Serra and the soldier José Antonio Peña to Lieutenant Francisco de Ortega, commander of the presidio of San Diego. Beltrán related that Fr. Serra was surrounded at a place called Trabuco-*en el parage-El Trabuco,* which name occurs here for the first time. Ortega sent Sergeant Mariano Carrillo to investigate. Carrillo on November 23 reported that all was quiet, but that two soldiers and a servant had deserted the new Mission; that two pagan chiefs had come to join the Mission; that one chief had complained to Fr. Serra that the soldier Manuel Robles had assaulted his wife, wherefore the Fr. Presidente demanded the removal of the soldier, but would not have anything to do with the punishment of the man whom he wanted removed; and that therefore he had taken the culprit to the presidio, and temporarily had left another soldier in his place.[8]

Recruited from the scum of society in Mexico, frequently convicts and jailbirds, it is not surprising that the mission guards, leather-jacket soldiers, as they were called, should be guilty of such and similar crimes at nearly all the Missions. It does amaze, however, that such a scandal could happen within three weeks of the founding of the Mission, and that the presence of the Fr.

[7] Palóu, *Vida,* chapter xliii; *Noticias,* iv, chap. xxiv, p. 192.

[8] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Sacramento,* vii, 5-13. Bancroft Collection.

GROUND PLAN
OF
SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO
MISSION
Compiled by Richard Crair Esq
Drawn by Arthur B Benton Architect

Presidente himself failed to check the criminal propensities of a member of the guard. Fr. Serra's feelings may be imagined. In truth, the guards counted among the worst obstacles to missionary progress. The wonder is, that the missionaries nevertheless succeeded so well in attracting converts.

"The site of the Mission is very pleasant and it has a good view," writes Fr. Palóu. "From the buildings, the ocean can be seen and the ships when they cruise there; for the beach is only about half a league distant. There is good anchorage for the frigates, and during the season when the barks come, there is good shelter; but during the season of the southwinds, the vessels would not be secure, because in that direction the harbor is open and exposed. Toward the north, however, and on the other side, the ships are secure owing to the high point of land which runs far out, and forms a roadstead named in honor of San Juan Capistrano by the mariners. This has a moderate inlet into which empties the little stream of fresh water that runs down by the Mission buildings. Near this inlet the freight for said Mission and for that of San Gabriel is unloaded. In this way, these Missions are saved the hardship of having to go as far as the port of San Diego in order to transport the supplies by means of pack mules.

"The Mission is situated in 33½ degrees[9] north. It is distant from the Mission and Port of San Diego twenty-six leagues, and from that of San Gabriel eighteen leagues. The climate is good, having its warm days in summer and its cold days in winter. Until now it has been found healthy. It has its rainy seasons; and, aided by irrigation with the water of the arroyo mentioned before, they obtain abundant harvests of wheat, corn, beans, etc., being not only sufficient for the maintenance of the neophytes, but also yielding a surplus for the support of the troops in exchange for clothing for the Indians. There is likewise good pasturage for all kinds of animals, which have been increasing very much.

"As it had been observed from the beginning of the Mission that the whole country around there was well covered with wild

[9] 33 degrees, 27 minutes, 45.5 seconds, according to Davidson, *Pacific Coast Pilot*, p. 29.

grapevines, so that in places they resemble vineyards, the Fathers began to plant some domesticated shoots brought from Lower California, and have already succeeded in obtaining wine, not only for Holy Mass but also for the table. They have also raised various Spanish fruits, such as pomegranates, peaches, apricots, etc. Garden products also thrive very well.

"With the help of the interpreter, whom the venerable Fr. Presidente and Founder had brought from San Gabriel, it was possible from the very beginning to tell the natives the principal object that induced the missionaries to come and live among them; that it was to teach them the road to heaven, to make them Christians so that they might be saved. They understood this so well, and it impressed them to such a degree, that soon they began to ask for Baptism. Unlike the Indians at other Missions, as the Fathers wrote to me in the beginning, who would molest the missionaries by begging eatables and other presents, these of San Juan Capistrano molested the missionaries with petitions for Baptism, because the period of instruction was too long for them. Hence it was that through said aid ardor was given to the spiritual work and in a short time the first Baptism was administered. The number of these increased to such an extent, that when the venerable Founder Fr. Junípero died they counted 472 convert Indians from rancherias of the vicinity. Soon after his death the conversions continued on a grand scale. Indeed, when I notified all the Fathers of the death of the venerable prelate and how shortly before dying he had promised me, when he should gain sight of God, he would pray for us all, that we might succeed in converting the pagans, Fr. Pablo Mugártegui replied: 'It seems that I already see the promise made by our Venerable Fr. Junípero approaching its fulfillment; for in these last three months we have secured more Baptisms than in the previous three years, and they persevere in the instructions, thanks be to God! so that we may trust in the Lord that the conversion of the rest also will be accomplished.' "[10]

Fr. Juan Crespi, who accompanied the expedition of 1769, was very enthusiastic about the Indians of this region. It was on July

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[10] Palóu, *Vida,* chap. xliii, pp. 199-200.

24 that the Spaniards pitched camp on or near the spot of the present Mission. "Immediately," Fr. Crespi wrote, "the Indians of a rancheria down the cañada paid us a visit. They came unarmed and with a gentleness which has no name they brought their poor seeds to us as gifts. We in turn gave them ribbons and trifles. Nearly all that day, men, women, and children remained with us. These pagans listened with greater attention than any of the Indians we encountered before to what by means of signs we told them of God, Jesus Christ, and their salvation. They devoutly venerated Christ on the crucifix and the Cross on the rosary several times. The locality itself and the docility of the Indians invited the establishment of a Mission for them. I made these savages say the acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity; and although they understood not a word, they repeated the acts with such fervor and tenderness that in my heart at least it found an echo." [11]

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[11] Fr. Juan Crespi, *Diário*.

CHAPTER II.

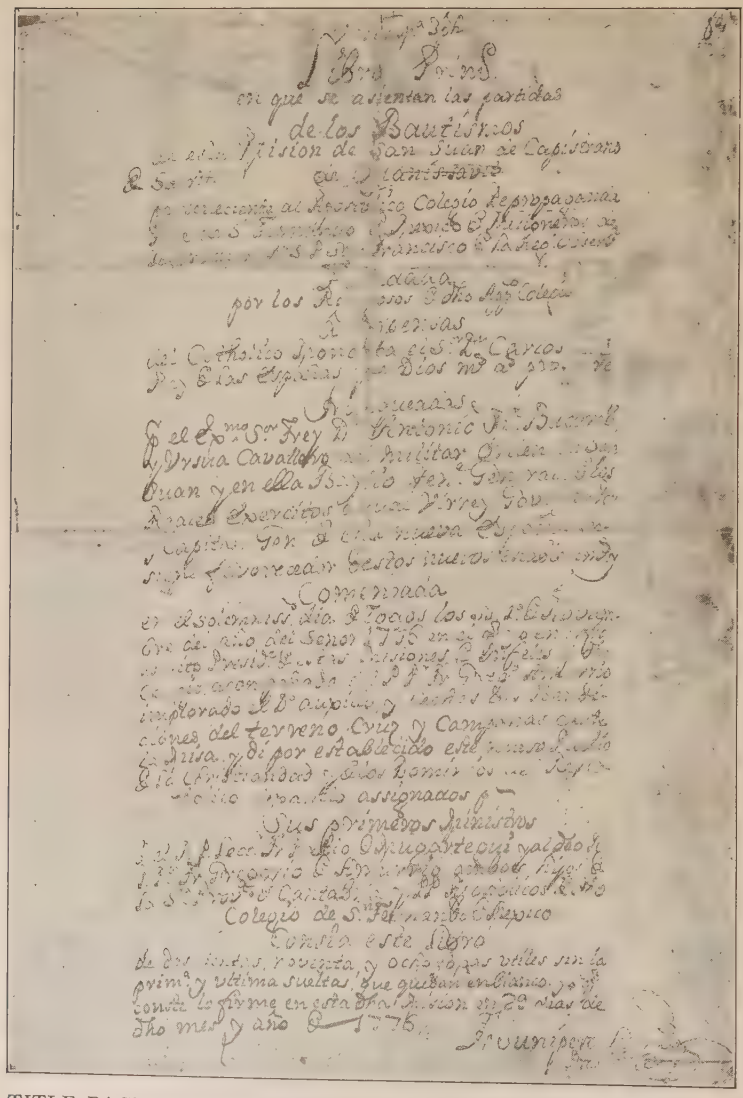
Fr. Serra Arranges the Mission Books.—Title Page of the Baptismal Register.—First Entries.—Indian Servants.—First Structures.—Fr. Serra's Church.—Gov. Felipe de Neve and His Instructions.—Allowance of the Missionaries.—Neve's Utter Meanness.

BEFORE leaving the newly founded Mission of San Juan Capistrano, Fr. Presidente Junípero Serra arranged the Mission Registers, and wrote the title page in the books that were to contain the entries of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials. The title page of the Baptismal Register reads:

"Praised be Jesus, Mary, Joseph!

BOOK ONE in which are written the entries of the Baptisms of this Mission of San Juan Capistrano de Quanís-savit[1] belonging to the Apostolic College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando de Mexico of missionaries of the Order of our Father St. Francis of the Regular Observance, *Founded* by the Religious of said Apostolic College at the expense of the Catholic monarch, the Señor Don Carlos III, King of Spain, whom God prosper many years, supplied by the Excellent Señor, Frey, Don Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursúa, Knight of the Military Order of St. John, and in it Lieutenant-Commander-General of the Royal Military, present Viceroy, Governor, and Captain-General of this New Spain, distinguished Friend of these New Establishments, *Commenced* on the Most Solemn Feast of All Saints, November 1, in the year of the Lord 1776, on which I, the undersigned Presidente of these Missions among the infidels, by authority of said College, assisted by Fr. Gregório Amúrrio, after the divine aid had been implored, the land, the Cross, and the bells blessed, I said the holy Mass, and declared established this new Foundation of Christianity and of the Dominions of the Catholic King, leaving assigned as its first missionaries the Rev. Fr. Lector Pablo Mugártegui and the said Fr. Gregório Amúrrio, both members of the holy Province of Cantabria, and both Preachers Apostolic of said College of San Fernando de Mexico.

[1] Thus Fr. Serra named the place; but it should be Sajivit.



TITLE PAGE OF THE BAPTISMAL REGISTER WRITTEN AND SIGNED BY FR. SERRA

"This book contains 298 folios for use, not including the first and the last, which remain blank. In witness whereof I signed at this Mission on the 29th day of said month and in the year 1776. —Fr. Junípero Serra.

On the reverse side of this same folio begin the entries. At the top of the page are the words:

Viva Jhs—Blessed be Jesus. In Dei Nomine, Año de 1776.

The first entry was made by Fr. Amúrrio. It reads:

On December 19, 1776, in the church [2] of this Mission of San Juan Capistrano, I solemnly baptized a child called in its pagan state Nanojibar, about six or seven years old, the son of pagan parents called the father Salat and the mother Suvalvet, of the rancheria Guillucome, upon whom I conferred the name of Juan Bautista. His sponsor was Nicolas Carabanas, soldier of the Leather-Jackets and corporal of this Mission, whom I reminded of his spiritual relationship etc. In witness thereof etc.—Fr. Gregório Amúrrio.

The second entry was made by Fr. Mugártegui on December 25, 1776, the subject being a child of pagan parents of the rancheria Jutucome. The name conferred was Juan José. The sponsor was Jacinto Gloria, a soldier. On the same day, Fr. Mugártegui baptized a child of five or six years, native of the same rancheria as the first convert, Guillucome (probably Guyucome). Fr. Mugártegui does not say where he administered the Baptisms, nor is there mention made of the place in any entries till number 40, as will be shown later.

The first building erected was the chapel; for in all missionary establishments this was the center of life which made possible and controlled the cheerful activity in the temporal and the spiritual order. Along with it arose the dwelling for the missionaries and their Indian servants or domestics. All their housework was performed by male youths or men brought from other Missions. Later on men or boys of the local Mission were substituted. For no purpose whatever were females ever permitted

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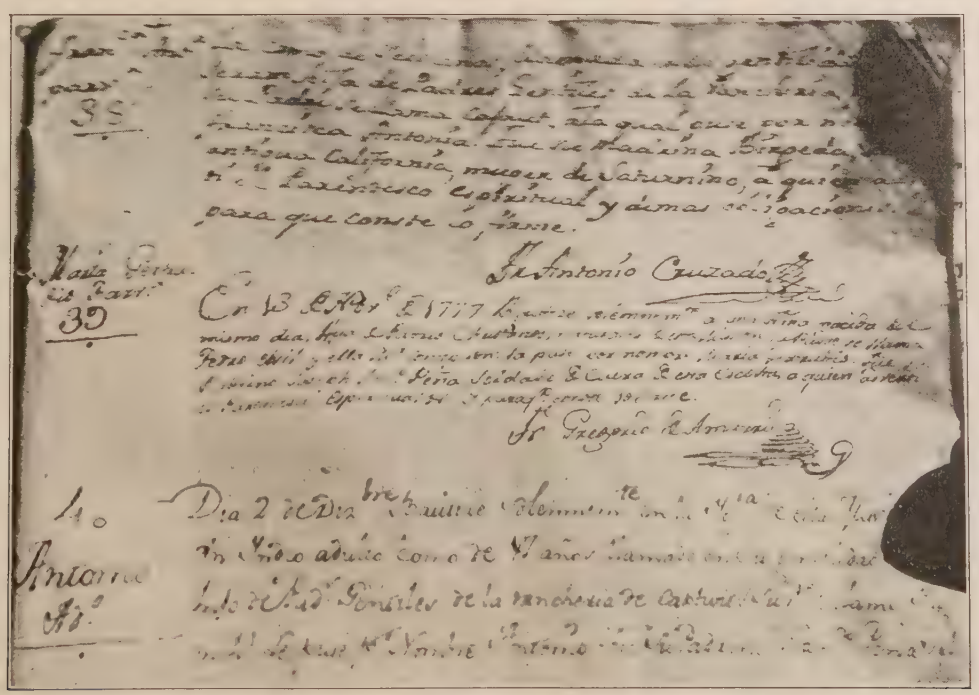
2 Doubtless the temporary structure is meant; for it is the only time this term is used in the entries until December 23, 1777.

to enter the apartments of the Missionary Fathers. At later stages of mission history we find that in some instances the wives or female relatives of the guards or settlers would prepare the meals, which would then be brought to the sitting room by the boys. The quarters or barracks of the military guard were built outside the quadrangle at some distance from the chapel. In the beginning all these structures, like the huts of the Indians, were of necessity only flimsy shelters made of boughs or poles and covered with tules. In time, these primitive habitations were replaced by one-story adobe buildings. The adobes or sun-dried bricks, twenty-two inches long, twelve inches wide, and four inches thick, were made on the spot by the Indians under the eyes of the Fathers, who in their own persons supplied the architects and overseers.

The first temporary chapel was soon completed; and there, on December 19, 1776, seven weeks after the founding of the Mission, Fr. Gregório Amúrrio administered the first Baptism. In the first entry, as was already indicated, he used the phrase "*in the church* of this Mission of San Juan Capistrano," but employed this term only once. Thereafter, the Fathers omit this circumstance until December 2, a year later, when Fr. Mugártegui enters Baptism number 40 and writes "in the church of this Mission." This seems to indicate that a permanent church building of adobe had been erected during the year, and that this Baptism of December 2, 1777, was the first administered there. From then on the Fathers always use the phrase "in the church etc." A close examination of the long building which was used for divine services until 1806 and again after the earthquake of 1812 till about 1891, will reveal the fact that the entire building was not erected at the same time; that the rear half was originally lower, and that the front half was subsequently added in order to accomodate the growing number of neophytes. The front half was built higher, whereupon the rear half was raised correspondingly. We should judge that the first church building had proved too small when the Fr. Presidente visited San Juan Capistrano in October, 1783. He may have approved or even suggested the plan for the extension which was undoubtedly made in the fol-



ENTRIES IN THE BAPTISMAL REGISTER. COMPARE NOS. 39 AND 40.
FR. AMURRIO'S SIGNATURE

lowing year or in 1785. The extension may have been completed even before this last visit of Fr. Serra. At all events, in the absence of all reports to the contrary, we may confidently assert that Fr. Serra officiated at Confirmations in 1778 and 1783 in the still existing chapel, which was the rear half of the present structure; and that, therefore, this chapel may glory in the distinction of being the only chapel or church in California in which the founder of the California Missions celebrated holy Mass and administered the Sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation.

Here, as at other Missions, the Fathers had to learn by experience how far they might depend upon the soil, climate, and rain, etc., in order to secure sufficient crops for the maintenance of their growing neophyte family. This of itself presented difficulties enough to tax the ingenuity and fortitude of the most capable and bravest missionary. Yet the obstacles of this nature caused the Fathers less worry than the attitude and conduct of those who from the earliest days had been directed to aid mission work in every way possible. The latest order to that effect, for instance, was addressed to the first governor of California, Don Felipe de Neve. Under date of December 25, 1776, Viceroy Bucareli wrote to Fr. Serra: "Governor Felipe de Neve is charged to consult me, and to propose whatever he may deem expedient and necessary to make your establishments happy; and he is likewise charged to act in everything in accord with Your Reverence."

Neve arrived at Monterey on February 3, 1777, three months after the founding of San Juan Capistrano. For little more than a year, he conducted himself within the instructions of the viceroy. Then he changed his tactics altogether. It is not in order here to explain the motives or the action of the governor toward the missionaries. The reader will find a full statement in our larger work.[3] It will suffice here to set forth briefly the position of the Fathers and the means at their command, in order to comprehend what concerns Mission San Juan Capistrano.

According to a regulation promulgated by Viceroy Bucareli,

[3] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii, pp. 216-218.

which went into effect on January 1, 1774, each Mission was to be managed by two Franciscan friars, each of whom was to receive an annual allowance of $400 from the Pious Fund[4] and double rations for the first five years. The single ration was computed at 1½ *reales*. The *real* was equal to 12½ cents. Therefore, the double rations amounted to 37½ cents a day for each of the two missionaries, or $136.89½ a year—$273.00 for both Fathers. With this additional sum, which was paid not in cash but in goods, the two missionaries were to maintain six neophyte servants who performed the work about the church and dwelling and assisted in tilling the soil so that the surrounding savages might learn from some of their own race how to apply their time usefully and become industrious citizens. Such was the laudable purpose of this wise measure prescribed by the viceroy.

For their own personal needs and for the maintenance of divine worship the two missionaries had to rely upon the stipend or annual allowance, which reached them in the shape of such goods or supplies as they designated. This stipend amounted for each to the munificent sum of $400, but which was reduced to about $275, since the respective missionaries themselves had to defray the expense of transporting the goods. After being in California about one year, Governor Neve, without consulting the viceroy, resolved to cut off these double rations, which his predecessor had been ordered to issue. His motive could not have been to advance the work of conversion, for which Bucareli had given him clear instructions. How the Fathers were to compensate or maintain their six Indian aids seems never to have entered into Neve's calculations, unless he wanted to cripple the work of the missionaries. In a long letter written at Mission San Juan Capistrano on March 15, 1779, Fr. Pablo Mugártegui humorously says: "We Fathers of San Francisco, Santa Clara, and San Juan Capistrano are sentenced to make restitution of all provisions and effects which we received from the day of the founding to the day when His Honor deprived us of the benefit which the Reglamento granted us." The Father argued at length why the supplies ought not be with-

[4] For the Pious Fund and its purpose, see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. i, pp. 131-133, 456-459, 593-599.

THE MISSIONARIES AS THEY CAME AND WENT. SEE MARK, VI., 8-9.

held. His reasons will be found in the afore-mentioned larger work. He dwells also on other evidences of Neve's contemptible hostility to the work of the friars. At the close, Fr. Mugártegui makes this remark, interesting inasmuch as it shows how the poor missionaries accepted whatever could not be avoided, by turning to something else and making an act of thanksgiving to God. "Praised be God," he writes, "the moon is in Aquarius.[5] Snow is plentiful. Therefore, until the severe cold moderates and the floods subside, the vine-shoots, which at your recommendation were sent to us from the southern districts, have been buried. We give due thanks to God, to yourself, to the beloved Fathers and Brothers, and benefactors."[6]

At San Juan Capistrano, two of the five years, during which they were to receive double rations, had already elapsed, and the Fathers had contrived to raise some produce. With this they managed to continue the work of Christianization and civilization, despite Neve's determination to hamper their heroic efforts. Their activity was singularly blessed, too, as we may infer from the General Reports of the Fr. Presidente.

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[5] Sign of the Water-bearer, a constellation in the zodiac.

[6] *Documentos Relativos a las Misiones de California,* Museo Nacional, Mexico, Qto. II.—The letter appears to have been addressed to the Síndico of the College of San Fernando. We infer this from the context, as the name of the addressee does not appear.

CHAPTER III.

Fr. Serra Confirms.—His Farewell Visit.—Interesting Items.—Site of Mission.—Statistics.—Donations.—Gov. Fages's Notes.—Building Activities.—New Church.—A Pretty Legend.

IN October, 1778, Fr. Junípero Serra visited Mission San Juan Capistrano for the purpose of administering the Sacrament of Confirmation. His own account of the event is as follows: "On October 23, 1778, the feast of the most glorious San Juan Capistrano, in the new Mission of the same San Juan Capistrano de Quanís-Savit, which I had reached on the eve of the feast, after the High Mass which I sang solemnly, the sermon on the holy Patron and on the holy Sacrament of Confirmation, and after reading in the vernacular the faculty to confer it, granted by the Holy See, with the assistance of the two Missionary Fathers of said Mission, the Fr. Lector Pablo de Mugártegui and Fr. Gregório Amúrrio, retaining the same sacerdotal vestments, I confirmed in due form the fifty-seven neophytes who were disposed and prepared for that important (primera) function. On the Sunday immediately following, the 25th of the said month and year, in the same manner I confirmed sixteen. On the feast of the holy Apostles Saint Simon and Saint Judas Thaddeus, I confirmed three; and on the eighth day of the holy Patron I confirmed the last, who were eight. Of all who had thus far been baptized, two were missed and they could not be found. Therefore, the confirmed were 147, whose entries with the names, circumstances, and the sponsors are noted in the special book, which for said purposes was commenced and arranged in due form, and to which I refer. The adults I instructed and disposed very much to my delight, on account of the skill which I observed in those interpreters and the affection of those who listened. The godfathers and godmothers, after giving the benediction to their godchildren on all the days mentioned, I reminded of their obligation. On the day of the last Confirmations, in the afternoon, I started on the road to the next mission with the consolation of leaving that new foundation, which

REAR OF FR. SERRA'S CHURCH. CONFESSIONAL. CHOIR LOFT AND STAIRWAY.
(By Hugo D. Pohl)

on the third day after my departure had not completed the second year of its existence, in such a promising state spiritually and temporally. In witness whereof I signed this.—Fr. Junípero Serra." [1]

Fr. Serra visited the Mission only once more. He had left San Diego on October 7, 1783, and arrived at San Juan Capistrano on the 9, as may be inferred from his own statement in the Register, where he says that he confirmed "on October 12, 1783, the feast of our Most Holy Lady of Columna or Pilár de Saragoza, in the church of San Juan Capistrano de Quanís-Savit, three days after I had arrived from San Diego." Assisted by Fathers Mugártegui and Fuster, the Fr. Presidente confirmed ninety children. On October 13, the feast of the Relics and of St. Daniel, he confirmed 123 persons. On October 14, there were seven more; and on October 15, he administered Confirmation for the last time to only one. Accordingly, on this farewell visit, Fr. Serra confirmed 221 persons. "I set out from that Mission," he writes in his Register, "with the affectionate embraces of the Fathers on said 15th day of October, 1783.—Fr. Junípero Serra." Both he and they felt it was the last farewell. He passed away at San Carlos on August 28, 1784.

On his Confirmation tour, Fr. Serra on two occasions also baptized, October 22 and 24, 1778, sixteen Indians who hailed from seven different rancherias. He mentions the rancherias in the entries which he himself made as follows; "Uhunga, Tumume, Tobna, Sajivit, Acaptivit, Huunga, Thumume, Quanis-Savit, Pange, Huhunga." Fr. Mugártegui spells the second of these Tomome. Thumume, and Tumume stand for the same rancheria. Uhunga, Huunga, and Huhunga, too, are doubtless identical. Hence, instead of ten, only seven rancherias furnished the sixteen converts.

The first marriage of an Indian couple was blessed by Fr. Mugártegui on January 23, 1777. The young people, neophytes of the Mission, were Saturnino and Brigida.

The first burial took place on July 13, 1777. The subject was

[1] From Fr. Serra's own personal Register, which he carried with him, and which is now at the parish house, Monterey, California.

a little girl of pagan parents. In Baptism she had received the name Sinforosa. Fr. Mugártegui officiated at the funeral.

Down to number 25, entered on March 9, 1781, all death entries read simply "sepultura ecclesiastica"—(ecclesiastical burial), save that with number 14, "en la Iglesia" (in the church) was added. With number 25, the place of interment is specified by "en el Cementerio de esta Mision" (in the cemetery of this Mission).

Some people have claimed that originally the Mission was founded farther up the stream about four or five miles from its present location; they point out the very spot and assert that thus arose the name, La Vieja—The Old (Mission), so called to distinguish it from the Mission proper. The writer has frequently visited and examined the site; but he could never understand how it might have served the purpose of a large missionary establishment, as the site is too small and the creek runs too far below. When Fr. Serra came to establish the Mission, a year after Fr. Lasuén had buried the bells, the Cross was still standing on the same spot.[2] The bells were then disinterred and the Mission was founded there. No mention whatever is made of a transfer to another site. Furthermore, Fr. Palóu, who relates these facts, also points out that the Mission thus established stood half a league from the sea, and that from the Mission buildings the ships could be seen cruising there.[3] This statement of Fr. Palóu, of course, explodes the notion that a Mission had been erected five miles into the interior away from the *Camino Reál*.

The first white person baptized was Pedro Buenaventura, son of Pio Quinto Zuñiga, a soldier of the guard. The Sacrament was administered on August 2, 1780. By that time, 278 Indians had been entered in the Baptismal Register.

At the end of 1784, four mouths after Fr. Serra's death, the two missionaries at San Juan Capistrano had entered 566 Baptisms, 126 marriages, and 99 burials. At the time, the names of 431 Indian converts were on the Mission Roll. The Mission

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[2] See Appendix B on exact site.

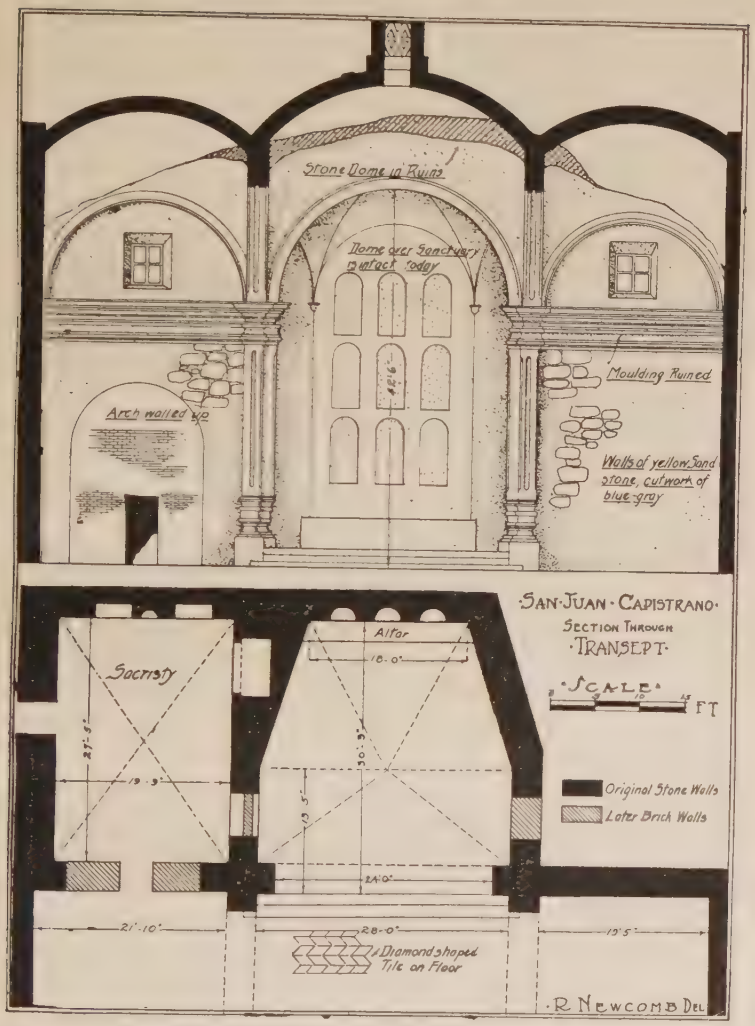
[3] Palóu, *Vida*, p. 198.

owned 703 head of cattle, 304 sheep, 1,353 goats, 59 horses, and 12 mules. In the same year, 1784, the community harvested 400 *fanégas* or about 665 bushels of wheat, 1,430 *fanégas* or 2,383 bushels of corn, and 60 *fanégas* or 100 bushels of beans. Only eight years before, gloomy paganism ruled the district where not a bushel of anything was raised.

From Fr. Lasuen's report on Mission San Diego, dated December 31, 1780, we learn that Mission San Juan Capistrano donated to Mission San Diego seven *almúdes* or about one bushel of beans and six *almúdes* of peas, probably for planting. On the other hand, Mission San Diego gave to Mission San Juan Capistrano four half-tamed colts, two sacks filled with wool, *dos tascones, y un guijo de fierro con platillo*. It supplied also fifty pounds of iron with the carbon necessary to reduce the points of plows, and loaned two expert Indian neophytes to assist at this work and at other little jobs.

In his report on all Missions of California, Governor Pedro Fages, in 1787, alludes to Mission San Juan Capistrano, as follows: "The Mission of San Juan Capistrano, distant 26 leagues from that of San Diego, possesses fertile soil which had constantly proved itself suitable for cultivation, but it is difficult to clear it of the brushwood and thickets. There is sufficient water, although in some years the lack of rain demands particular care to make it suffice. The Indians are good-natured and well disposed toward us, and they cheerfully submit to Christian instruction and to work. The Mission is well provided with cattle and other live stock. The language of these Indians, so far as observed along the *Camino Reál,* begins twelve leagues south of the Mission and terminates six or seven leagues northwest of it."

From the year 1794, we can trace the building activities very well, because in 1904, two years before the conflagration at San Francisco destroyed the priceless *California Archives,* then in the United States Land Office on Commercial Street, the writer was fortunate enough to copy what was found in the Spanish documents regarding the Missions under this head. The years preceding 1794 are almost blank as far as reports on buildings are concerned. All we have in this line are the Annual Reports of the



SECTION THROUGH TRANSEPT

SANCTUARY AND SACRISTY OF THE STONE CHURCH.

Fathers Presidentes which touch only the erection of new churches, and even these Reports do not begin until 1782.

Accordingly, we know that in 1794 two granaries were built at Mission San Juan Capistrano; one measuring 34 varas or about 94 feet in length and 5 varas or 14 feet in width, while the other was 20 varas or 55 feet in length and 5 varas in width. Likewise, forty little cabins were put up for as many neophyte families. The dimensions of these dwellings are not given, but they were of adobe and some of them, like the granaries, were roofed with tiles, while others were still covered with tules, until tiles could be made. Fathers Vicente Fuster and Juan Norberto de Santiago signed the report for that year.

In 1795, the garden was surrounded by an adobe wall, and some of the buildings were repaired.

In 1796, new quarters were erected of adobe and roofed with tiles for the soldier guards. Also a room was built for the spinning of wool; the dimensions were 16 by 6 varas or 44 by 17 feet. It had a floor of brick.

The most important and pretentious building of the whole Mission period was begun in 1797. The first stone was laid on March 2nd. The church thus far used, commonly styled Fr. Serra's church because he undoubtedly officiated there, had proved too small. More than a thousand convert Indians now lived at the Mission, of whom at least 700 were adults or had arrived at the age of reason, and who were therefore obliged to attend holy Mass on Sundays and holy days of obligation. Fathers Fustér and Santiago accordingly resolved to erect a temple which would be worthy the Divine Majesty worshipped therein. It was to be built in the form of a cross, and to surpass every church building so far erected in California. Since an abundance of stone was available not too far away, they planned to put up a church edifice of that material. No wood was to enter into its construction save for the doors and windows. The roof was to be vaulted like the sky and to consist of concrete. In fact, there were to be six domes,[4] one over the sanctuary, three over the transept, and

[4] In his *Informe Bienal* of February 21, 1805, Fr. Presidente Tápis reported *cinco bovedas,* five domes already completed.

two over the nave beyond the transept. A baptistry and tower were included in the plan. The dimensions were to be 53 varas or 146 feet in length and 10 varas or about 28 feet in width, inside measurement. The vestry on the epistle side, also of stone, was outlined to be 28 by 19 feet.[5] Some alterations seem to have been found necessary and some resulted from miscalculation on the part of the Indian laborers. At all events, there is much discord noticeable, especially in the arches of the *pátio,* no two of which measure exactly alike. This could not have been the effect of design.

A pretty legend has come down to our times in connection with the building of the stone church. Although averse to including anything not based on documentary evidence, this instructive little tale agrees so well with the situation and with Catholic usage that we have decided to incorporate it here. The tradition runs as follows:

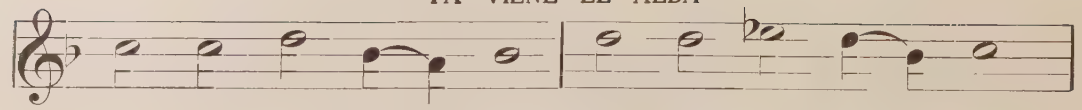
When Fr. Fustér and Fr. Santiago planned the erection of a temple worthy of the Divine Majesty, they placed the matter before their neophytes, and asked them to contribute to the best of their ability. They reminded their dusky wards how Almighty God ordered Moses to build Him a grand Tabernacle for which He Himself deigned to prescribe the dimensions and the material and the ornaments in detail; how the very women offered their earrings, rings, and bracelets; and how "skillful women also gave such things as they had spun, violet, purple, and scarlet, and fine linen."[6]

The Indians enthusiastically agreed to quarry the stones, haul them down to the Mission, and put them into the walls of the sacred edifice. On hearing this, the poor Indian women of San Juan Capistrano felt disconsolate and heavy at heart. Nothing but stone was to go into the great structure. That was the work of strong men. They possessed no ear-rings, nor rings, nor bracelets, nor fine linen, etc. Yet they, too, wanted to have a share in building the House of God. What could they do? They loved the Lord as well as did the Israelite women. How could they

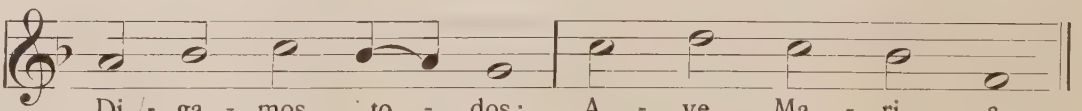
[5] *Annual Report,* December 31, 1797. *Santa Barbara Archives.*

[6] *Exodus,* xxxv, 22, 25.

YA VIENE EL ALBA



1. Ya vie - ne el al - - ba rom - pien do el di - - a,
2. Na - cio Ma - ri - a pa - ra con - sue - lo
3. Na - cio Ma - ri - a con e - fi - ca - - cia,
4. La sier - pe fie - ra llo - ra sus pen - nas,
5. El in - fi - er - no tres ve - ces tiem - bla,
6. To - dos can - te - mos en al - ta la voz,



Di - ga - mos to - dos: A - ve Ma - ri - a.
De pe - ca - do - res y luz del cie - lo.
A - ve Ma - ri - a, lle - na de gra - cia.
Mari - a le po - ne fuer - tes ca - de - nas.
Al de - cir pron - to, A - ve Ma - ri - a.
A - ve Ma - ri - a, Ma - dre de Di - os.

A MORNING HYMN. (SEE APPENDIX C.)

prove it? Then one of the darkeyed, lively younger women conceived a brilliant idea, which she at once communicated to the other women, who smiled happily. Approaching Fr. Fustér, the brilliant one, less shy than the others because she had grown up at the Mission Monjério [7] under the eyes of the missionaries, spoke in the name of all and said: "Father, will small stones be wanted in the great building?" "Surely," he replied; "the men will need them to fill up the crevices." "Will the Lord be pleased if we bring small stones from the quarry, so that they may go into the walls?" questioned the bold one. "Indeed, He will be touched at such a proof of your affection; but remember, the quarry is two leagues distant, and the stones will be hauled down here in the two-wheeled carts by oxen." "Never mind, Father; we shall all go up and our children, too, all will bring stones in our aprons or in little sacks, and the little ones shall each bring a tiny stone. The men are not going to have all the glory to themselves," she smiled archly, and they all left the good Father highly amused as well as edified.

Thus it came to pass that the women and children would proceed to the quarry, and on the way rest at will and lunch or make their meals of what they procured at the *pozolera*, or community kitchen, the unique chimney of which still rises above the roof of the front wing. They were not pressed for time and distance was not an item with Indians. They went and returned in groups or in a sort of procession, gossiping and at times singing the Spanish or the Latin hymns they were wont to sing in the church at divine service, or in the pátio while spinning, sewing, or knitting. How long they kept up this voluntary exercise in behalf of the House of God, we do not know. At all events, every woman, girl, and child, and infant could later on boast of having had a

[7] Monjério, or apartment of the girls. During the day the girls twelve years of age and over might spend their free time with their relatives in the Indian village close by; but at night all the girls, and the women whose husbands were absent, had to sleep together in the apartment set aside for them at the Mission. The door would be locked from the outside, and the key would be taken by a matron to the missionary in charge. Next morning she would again receive the keys to let the girls out. See *The Missions and Missionaries*, vol. ii. 249-250; 572.

share in the construction of the walls. Perhaps the Fathers in time advised the women not to burden themselves in this way, as they could help just as well by bringing sand and gravel which could be procured closer by. Whatever they did, the Indian women succeeded in having themselves and their children recognized in the erection of the stone church.

CHAPTER IV.

Imported Artisans Not a Success.—Fr. Fuster to Gov. D. Borica.—Home Manufactures.—Wife-Murder. Reception Rooms Built.—New Church.—Master Mason at Last.—Corridors.—Contagious Diseases.—Fire.—New Church Dedicated.—Transfer of Body of Fr. Fuster.

THE missionaries would gladly avail themselves of any mechanic in whatever line, in order to afford their wards ample opportunity for learning the trades to which they might be especially inclined; but the experiments were not encouraging. A master weaver, Mariano Mendoza, was sent down from Monterey in the summer of 1796. He was under contract to teach this trade to the Indians for thirty dollars a month, which was to be paid by the government. A loom was set up with the other necessary apparatus of a rude nature, by means of which the neophytes wove coarse fabrics and blankets.[1]

This arrangement might have continued indefinitely, had the weaver been capable and industrious. On April 17, 1797, however, Fathers Fustér and Santiago informed GovernorBorica "that what the weaver had accomplished with the Indians was to make 18 yards of yellow, green, blue, and violet baize. The white had come out spotted. The neophytes had made the skeins and comb. In wide fabrics there had been woven 80 blankets *médio cámeras,* 150 blankets pastores for Santa Barbara presidio, and some others for this Mission. The weaver had forgotten to weave cotton and wool, as he said, but on being urged he remembered and made a piece of 30 yards. His wife taught the Indian girls how to spin, but the spun flax placed on the loom was fifteen days in weaving. Furthermore, there were made a cord of black wool for the vaqueros, and 30 yards of white baize, which he hoped he could color blue. With this he has occupied himself but not in teaching the Indians, who have advanced very little, although they already knew something about carding and spinning. He promised to do

[1] Bancroft, vol. i, p. 658.

DOORWAY IN SANCTUARY
SCALE 0 1 2 FEET

a great deal, if he were given a fulling-mill, a press, and other useful tools that are lacking; but we think that he has not the temper to teach the Indians. In order to dye the carpet, we gave him campeachy-wood, brasil-wood, and *sacastal* (weed used for dyeing), and even a little grain; but he could not make use of this last, because there was a lack of lemons although he tried to supply this want with good vinegar. The colors came out very poorly, and the Indians get out better ones with the little instruction that Enrique gave them."

In reply, Borica wrote on April 29, 1797: "By your esteemed letter of April 17, I am informed of the work of the artisan weaver Mariano Mendoza. In order to comply with the command of His Excellency (viceroy), it will be necessary to collect the amount due for his labors. Seven-eighths of the product is to be applied to the royal treasury, and the rest goes to him. If it pleases Your Reverences, the said artisan may continue work at the Mission, but with the understanding that you pay his salary, which is $600 a year." [2]

The poor missionaries were not only unwilling but also unable to pay $600 salary from the fund of their Indian wards. Advised by Fr. Presidente Lasuén, they decided to plod along without such teachers. The quick-witted Indians had meanwhile grasped the secrets of the trade very well, and so could produce the same, if not better, results unaided. Accordingly, Fr. Fuster alone, his companion Fr. Santiago having gone to San Diego to visit Fr. Hilario Torrent who was very ill, replied to the governor under date of May 31, 1797, as follows:

> We have received the esteemed letter of Your Honor of April 29, in which you tell us that, in order to comply with the command of His Excellency, it is necessary to collect the value of the work of the artisan weaver Mariano Mendoza, and to apply seven-eighths to the royal treasury and the remainder to said weaver. In return we have to say that we have already notified Your Honor regarding the work which the weaver accomplished and which we now repeat:—A carpet eighteen yards long for the church; a piece of twisted cord thirty yards long for the vaqueros; eighty half-sized blankets for the presidio of Santa Barbara; three wraps; forty blan-

[2] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Sacr.* vi, pp. 103-105; *Prov. Rec.*, v, p. 245; *Prov. St. Pap., Benicia,* xxv, p. 376.

kets; a piece of cotton cloth thirty yards long; and a piece of white flannel thirty yards long. This is the work performed and the goods produced by the weaver with the aid of the Indians. In no way does it meet our expectations. Nor do we know what value we should assign to the work. What we can say to Your Honor is that, even if the said artisan had not come, the said blankets and the other goods would have been made just as well or better. If we look at the things without any feeling, we can assure you that the said artisan has been of little utility to the Mission, because we do not see the least improvement in the weaving of wide goods for which he had a name, whether it be on account of his little intelligence or of his little good will. The Indians have spoiled much material by not having ascertained the right measures and similarly in other ways, which also delayed the work. In the process of dyeing, the Indians have made no progress whatever, especially as to the blue tints which we desired. Not even this is better, nor has he added anything out of his own head. From what has been said, Your Honor can infer very well that in no way can the Mission furnish $600 for the salary assigned to him, not even the eight parts (i.e. the whole product of goods), because what has been done with him would undoubtedly have been done without him. With regard to himself and his family we have nothing to say, for he did not meddle with anyone and his family is raised well.[3]

Corporal Pedro Pollerena, on April 16, 1797, reported to Captain Grájera that blankets, wide woolen cloths, *mangas* for vaqueros, thirty yards of *manta,* thirty yards of baize were successfully woven, though not so perfect as Mexican goods, they were good enough for this country; that the native women spin and pick wool and cotton, and also dye tolerably well; that the weaver's attempts at dyeing with vinegar, etc., were not equal to what the natives could do with Campeche, Brazil, and Zacatascal woods. Grájera also informed Borica that the carpenter Gutiérrez was the only man who could put up looms.

Besides for home manufacture, says Bancroft, Mission San Juan Capistrano supplied from its large flocks quantities of wool for other Missions, and also to the presidios. Fr. Fuster, for instance, under date of August 2, 1796, notified Comandante Goycoechea of Santa Barbara that he was sending him 2,600 pounds of white wool and 500 pounds of black wool. He remarks also that the harvests had been more abundant than was at first supposed.

[3] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap., Benicia,* XXV, p. 377.

"In the fear of English invasion which agitated the whole country in 1797," says Bancroft, "a sentinel was posted on the beach at San Juan (Capistrano) to watch for suspicious vessels, since it was not doubted that England had her eyes upon the cove anchorage (which Vancouver in 1793 had pronounced good). Whether a four-pounder was mounted here as recommended by Captain Grájera does not appear."[4]

In 1797, the Indian Aurélio was arrested for the murder of his wife; but he was not severely punished. According to his own frank confession, he had proceeded in a fit of jealousy to administer some conjugal discipline and in his wonted zeal overdid the duty, as Bancroft flippantly puts it. He had had no intention of killing her. The secular authorities decided that it was no matter for criminal proceedings.[5]

On December 31, 1798, the Fathers reported as follows: "Work on the church building, the dimensions of which were given in the previous report, continues. Several structures were torn down as they impeded its extension, and others were built as follows: One structure for the reception of officials (*S. S. Oficiales*). This is a *sala* (reception room) which measures 7 by 5 varas (19 by 14 feet), and a private room (*recamara*) 4 varas long and wide (11 by 11 feet). The walls of this structure are of adobe, but the roof is flat (*terrado*). Two buildings were put up to secure room for necessary shops. An old building was renovated and a *sala* was added which measures 11 by 6 varas (31 by about 17 feet)." The structures that were torn down to make room for the *salas* most probably formed the end of the east wing just in front of the old church. No other structure in the whole Mission group corresponds to the description of the *sala,* as all had gable roofs of timber covered with tiles.

Loath to shoulder all the responsibility for the erection of the magnificent temple which was under construction, the Fathers from the beginning endeavored to secure a master mason so as to insure its durability as well as its architectural beauty. Such a man it was difficult to enlist. Governor Arrillaga himself, on

[4] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Sacram.,* vi, 2; Bancroft, i, 658-659.

[5] Bancroft, vol. i, p. 659.

PILLARS AND DOOR TO RIGHT OF SANCTUARY.
SCULPTURAL DETAILS.

February 7, 1799, wrote from Loreto to the viceroy that the Fathers of Mission San Juan Capistrano had endeavored to procure a master mason for their new church, but had failed to secure even a moderately able mechanic; that he himself had applied to Prudencio Ruiz de Eguino of Los Alamos, who not being able to hire one, had at last secured a mason at Culiacán, who made the journey in five months.[6] Fathers Fuster and Santiago, in a letter to Governor Arrillaga dated January 30, 1799, speak of a *maestro albañil* Isídro Aguilár.[7] Besides proceeding with the work on the church, one of the old buildings was unroofed and a new roof was put on of timbers and then tiled.

On November 22, 1800, according to Bancroft, a slight earthquake cracked the walls of the rising church edifice and necessitated some extra labor. Some old buildings also were repaired.

In 1801, while the construction of the church was proceeding the roof of two granaries and of one other small structure was destroyed by fire. They were re-roofed and other most notable work was done. This was the erection of two corridors, but unfortunately the report fails to say where they were erected. Pillars and arches were of burnt brick and masonry, however, and they measured 85 and 75 varas respectively.

In the same year, 1801, on February 25, Fr. Presidente Lasuén informed the viceroy and the College of San Fernando that the new cruciform church, which had been under construction these last four years, was proceeding slowly but steadily, and that to the delight of the Fathers an elegant side altar for it had already arrived from Mexico.[8] In this connection, Fr. Lasuén also makes the casual remark that this year at San Juan Capistrano some grape wine had been pressed, for the first time in its history perhaps, as there is no intimation of wine manufacture before this date in the records.

The year 1801 was a memorable one not only for building activity. Lieutenant Manuel Rodriguez, on January 1, 1801, re-

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[6] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.*, xxi, p. 15. Bancroft Collection.

[7] *Archbishop's Archives*, no. 181; Bancroft, i, p. 659.

[8] "Vinó ya el colateral maior primoroso y muy del gusto de los misioneros."

ported that contagious fevers had played havoc with the Indians of San Gabriel and of San Juan Capistrano. The victims scarcely complained, but just lay down and soon passed away. The crops were scanty; at San Luis Rey nothing had been raised, and some wells ran dry because the rains were late. Furthermore, a serious mishap occurred at San Juan Capistrano. The official at San Diego reported on April 16, 1801, that in March at Mission San Juan Capistrano 12,500 pounds of tallow and 1,000 bushels of corn and wheat had been destroyed by fire through the carelessness of a boy, who had gone into the store room for some tallow with a burning candle, and then amused himself with killing bats.[9]

In 1802, a corridor with arches and pillars of brick masonry was constructed for a distance of 65 varas. Besides, a room of adobe and roofed with tiles was built, while some of the older structures were renovated.

On February 21, 1803, Fr. Lasuén writes to the viceroy and to the College that the Mission of San Juan Capistrano had suffered a mishap in the death of the master mason who had come up from Mexico. In consequence, work on the church had been somewhat delayed, but the Fathers were trying to secure another artisan to finish the church. Fr. Lasuén again remarks by the way, "At the Mission they now eat grapes and also produce some grape wine."

Although apparently no master mason had been secured, since there is no mention of one, the Fathers in their local report of 1804, on December 31, to the new Fr. Presidente Estévan Tápis say that the church was progressing satisfactorily, and that already five domes enclosed the sacred edifice three over the main nave and one each over the transepts. All this was done in masonry, as the roof was vaulted. During the year some old buildings were repaired.

At the end of 1805, the Fathers reported that the splendid new temple was nearing completion and that the foundations had been laid for dwellings for the neophytes.

The new church which had been building nine years was at last

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[9] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap., Ben., Mil.*, xxix, 3; 13. Banc. Coll.

finished. The happy missionaries, Fr. Faura and Fr. Santiago, noted the event in the Baptismal Register, after entering the first Baptism administered there on October 18, 1806, by Fr. Faura. The subject was an Indian child, eight months old, the son of pagan parents from the rancheria of Jayabit, who received the name Lucas. The Baptism was entered under number 2,723, and immediately after follows this

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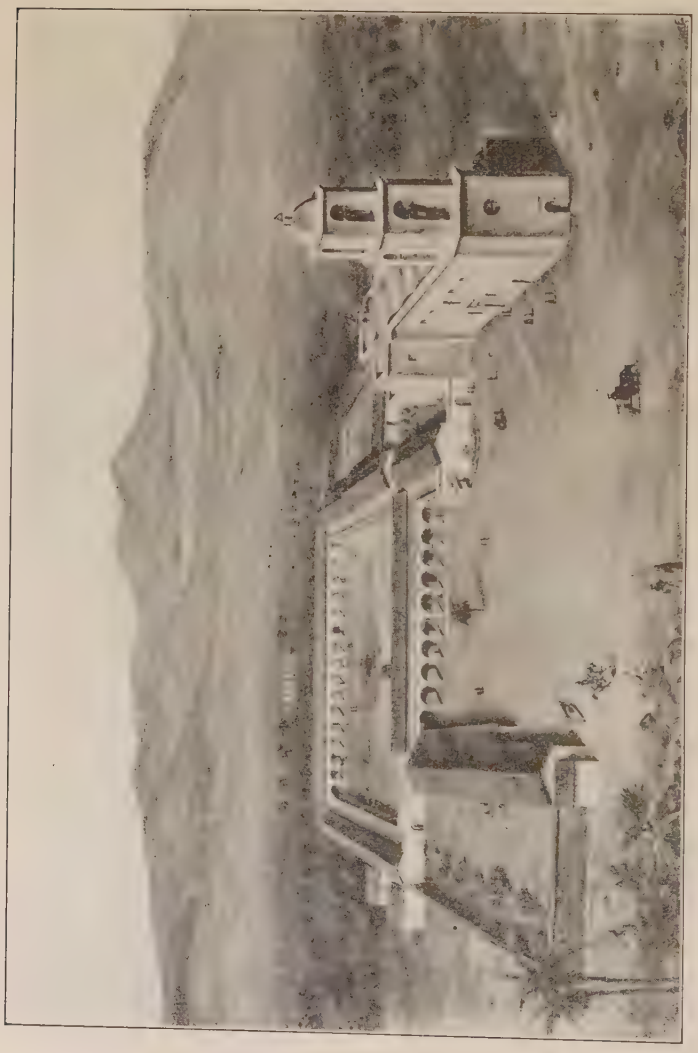
"The Baptism which precedes is the first which was administered in the new church of this Mission, constructed by the neophytes at the cost of supplication and labors. The whole is of masonry, lime and stone, with vaulted roof of the same material and with a transept. It was commenced on the second day of February in the year 1797, the day dedicated to the Solemnity of the Purification of Mary Most Holy, and completed in the year 1806. It was blessed on the afternoon of September 7 of the said year by the Very Rev. Fr. Estevan Tápis, Preacher Apostolic of the College of San Fernando de Mexico, and Presidente of these Missions of New or Upper California, with the assistance of the Rev. Fathers José de Miguel and José Antonio de Urresti of the holy Province of Cantabria, missionaries Apostolic of the said College and missionaries of the neighboring Mission of San Gabriel Archangel; of the Rev. Fr. Marcos Antonio de Victoria, member of the same Province of Cantabria and of the said College and missionary of the Mission of Santa Barbara; of the Rev. Fr. José Zalvidea, member of the said Province and College, and missionary of the Mission of San Fernando Rey de España; of the Rev. Fr. Antonio Peyri, member of the holy Province of Catalonia and of the said College and missionary of the neighboring Mission of San Luis Rey de Francia; of the Rev. Fr. Pedro de la Cueva, member of the holy Province of Extremadura (infra Tagum), member of the said College, and ex-minister of the Mission of San José; of the Rev. Fr. Juan Norberto de Santiago, native of the pueblo of Samiano, contado de Trevino, in the Province of Alaba, member of the Holy Province of Cantabria and member of the said College; of the Rev. Fr. José Faura, native of Barcelona, Capital of



MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO AT HEIGHT OF PROSPERITY.

the Principality of Catalonia, member of the holy Province of the same name and member of the said College.

"There assisted at the dedication also Don José Joaquín de Arrillaga, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Army and present Governor of this Province of Upper California; Don Manuel Rodriguez, Captain of the Cavalry Company and of the Presidio of San Diego; Don Francisco Maria Ruiz, Lieutenant of the Presidio Company of San Diego; Don Joaquín Maitorena, Ensign of the Company of the Presidio of Santa Barbara; and many individuals of said companies, many people called de Razon; many Neophytes of the near-by Missions and of others, besides all the Neophytes of this Mission.

"On the following day, September 8, Solemn High Mass was celebrated by the already mentioned Fr. Marcos Victoria, and the said Fr. Urresti preached.

"On the ninth of the said month, the remains of the Rev. Fr. Vicente Fuster, late missionary of this Mission, were transferred from the old church to the new one; and after a Solemn High Mass of Requiem had been sung, which was celebrated by the said Fr. De la Cueva, and sermon on the Souls Departed preached by the said Fr. Faura, the said remains were deposited in a tomb which is in the presbytery on the Epistle side. At the function for the Souls Departed, besides the Fathers mentioned, were present the Rev. Fr. José Sanchez, member of the holy Province of Eztremadura (supra Tagum) member of the said College and missionary of the Mission of San Diego, the first of all Missions in Upper California; and Don Ignacio Martinez, Ensign of the Company of the Presidio of San Diego. In witness whereof I sign this day, October 18, 1806.—Fr. José Faura." [10]

A shorter account is also entered in the Death Register under date of September 19, and signed by Fr. Faura. By that time number 1,439 was reached and this was entered with the phrase "en el Cementerio de la Nueva Iglesia;" thereafter, however, the entries read simply, "en el Cementerio de esta Mision."

[10] *Baptismal Register,* Mission San Juan Capistrano.

CHAPTER V.

Building Activities.—An Unwelcome Visitor.—Rev. Domingo Rivas Defends the Fathers.—Missionary Changes.—The Aqueduct.—Fathers Suñer and Barona.

DURING the year 1807, building activity at Mission San Juan Capistrano continued on a large scale. On December 31 of that year, the two Fathers in charge could inform the Fr. Presidente that thirty-four adobe houses for as many neophyte Indian families had been constructed and that the older buildings had been either repaired or remodeled.

Still, the missionaries were not so immersed in this purely secular and mechanical work as to neglect their main duties—the spiritual affairs of the Mission. They had always to bear in mind that, as Fr. Palóu would express it, the evil spirit was bent on tearing down the spiritual edifices they had succeeded in erecting. It does not seem that such criminal relations as must be touched on now were of frequent occurrence; in fact, the following case is the first of its kind in the history of Mission San Juan Capistrano. On July 6, 1807, Fathers Santiago and Faura jointly complained to the governor that the Indian neophyte Antonio Pablo, a widower, was living in concubinage with the married *neofita* Felicitas, and that all reprimands had been of no avail whatever. They suggested that the governor send Antonio Pablo to the presidio of San Francisco and keep him there at hard labor for two or three years, and that the woman be compelled to return to her lawful husband. At all events, they insisted, the couple should not be permitted to live like pagans near the Mission.[1]

About this same time, as also two years before, the Fathers and the entire Mission population were scandalized by the vile conduct of a naval officer of the warship *Activo,* which visited the coast in 1805 and 1807. Nowhere do the missionaries make mention of the case, and the name of the culprit might never have appeared

[1] *Archb. Arch.,* no. 321.

in print had he not after his return to Mexico assailed the California missionaries and their mission system. As the history of the Missions demonstrates, such a proceeding was exceedingly dangerous if the hostile author had no solid basis for his accusations, which was usually the case with such individuals. The Fathers never blackened any one's character. They preferred to suffer in silence, even unjust accusations, so long as the welfare of their neophytes or the honor of Religion did not demand a refutation. Fortunately, in this case, a secular priest was in position to take up their defence. He had visited the coast some time before and had assisted at the founding of Mission San Luis Rey, the attending ceremonies of which he described very minutely. This Reverend gentleman, Don Domingo Rivas, had learned all about that naval officer's scandalous conduct at San Juan Capistrano and at San Diego. From personal observations, he also knew what the conditions at these missionary establishments were at the time. Accordingly, when Señor Francisco de Paula Tamariz trumped up his false charges before the government, Joaquin Cortina asked the Rev. Domingo Rivas, as an eyewitness, to answer the charges. This the Reverend gentlemen did by drawing up a lengthy report in which he showed that Tamariz was a consummate prevaricator, and something worse. We reproduce the portion of the report, which concerns Mission San Juan Capistrano.

"It is very strange," Father Rivas writes, "that Religious, who have undergone so much for the conquest of Upper California, should see themselves painted in such black colors as Señor Tamariz paints them in his memorial! And what motive might this Señor have had thus to besmirch such venerable Religious? I will say it in a few words and with this conclude what I have presented.

"Señor Tamariz has been in California twice and this was in the years 1805 and 1807. He saw four Missions and as many presidios. The Missions were San Francisco, Carmelo, San Buenaventura, and San Juan Capistrano; and the presidios were San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Diego. If we ask Señor Tamariz what lands planted with grain and what ranchos for the cattle the four Missions have, I am sure he will

not know what answer to give, because he did not see more of them than the land that lies between the sea and the Mission; so that all that he saw of California dwindles down to eight leagues of territory and perhaps a little more. At the Missions of San Buenaventura and San Juan Capistrano he appeared in company with the Padre *afanador* [2]—now most worthy colonel of the Mexican insurgents, but then unworthy chaplain of the brigantine *Activo,* which vessel was in command of Señor Tamariz—and went to the little Indian huts to solicit Indian girls.[3] The Fathers of both Missions, notified by the Indians, surprised him, as the saying is, with the dough on his hands. As may be supposed, the Fathers denounced such grave disorders in the presence of those same Indians, in order to lessen to some extent the scandal which the two decorated persons had given, the one being in priestly orders, the other in the epaulets and galloons of the Royal Navy.

"Much offended at this, Señor Tamariz went aboard his brig and sailed in the direction of the presidio of San Diego; but he would not visit the Mission of that name, because, he said, the missionary Fathers were uncivil, ill-bred, unmannerly, coarse, and countless other things worse than these. From that moment he began to speak wickedly about the missionaries. For whatever slanderous matter he produces in his memorial about said Fathers, and for the wicked things he was heard to say at San Diego, and for all his proposals toward the betterment of California, Señor Tamariz had no other motive than to revenge himself for the insult, as he puts it, which was inflicted on his person and on that of the Padre *afanador;* as though public scandals of that kind, which were the more grievous for having been given to neophyte Indians and by persons of a distinguished class, did not merit a public satisfaction.

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[2] Italics are ours. Observe that the name is written small. It may mean restless or greedy. Rivas unfortunately suppressed the Padre's proper name. Nowadays, in this country, such a man would pass for an *ex-priest* on the platform in quest of coin, while in Mexico anti-Catholics made colonels of such characters.

[3] "dandoles un peso por cada vez que saciaban sus brutales apetitos; logrando en San Juan Capistrano pervertir a una mozeula de quince años, que apenas llevaba seis meses de bautizada."

"However, not only the Fathers were blackened in the memorial of Señor Tamariz, but also the governor who at the time was Don Joaquín de Arrillaga, for many reasons deserving of praise. Señor Tamariz, however, considered himself aggrieved by the governor; and, therefore, he found himself bound to revenge himself. And what was the grievance? None other than that Don Joaquin had made some sarcastic allusions to his (Tamariz's) scandalous conduct. While Señor Tamariz was at San Diego, in the year 1805, during the month of November, there arrived Señor Arrillaga, who was passing from Lower to Upper California, of which he had been appointed governor. Señor Tamariz wished to compliment him and invited him to dine aboard the brigantine *Activo*. On that very day, while stepping from the boat onto the brig, Tamariz had the misfortune of breaking his leg. The governor, on the occasion when he went to visit him, remarked in a joking way that the bad steps which Tamariz had made while going through California were the cause of what had befallen him. Likewise he said to him that because of his broken leg the Indian girls were losing a great deal, since they would have no occasion of becoming acquainted with his charming personality, and other satirical remarks of this kind, which the self-love of Tamariz could not endure. This, and nothing else, was the motive why in his memorial he did not forget Señor Arrillaga, for he says on page 92 that *this can be easily remedied* (the lack of inhabitants) *as soon as the system of the present government is changed, which far from protecting the inhabitants has contributed with the Missions to wipe them out, inasmuch as the present governor controlled by those Religious does not understand anything more than how to command the companies of the presidos.*" [4]

That the bad example of this Tamariz should have passed without affecting the carnally inclined Indians, is improbable. On the contrary, we may well suppose that Antonio Pablo, mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, found sufficient excuse for his own misdeeds in the beastly conduct of Tamariz. The two Fathers never learned that their indignant protest had furnished

[4] *Las Misiones de la Alta California,* pp. 189-192. Palacio Nacional, Mexico, 1914.

UPPER VIEWS: PEPPER TREE AND FRONT CORRIDOR. CHAPEL. BELOW: REAR OF FR. SERRA'S CHURCH. PILLARS AND ENTRANCE TO VESTRY OF STONE CHURCH. FRONT ARCHES. DOOR TO CHAPEL. TOP OF STONE CHURCH.

Tamariz a plea for assailing all the missionaries of California; for his memorial was not presented to the king of Spain until May 20, 1814. Nor did Viceroy Calleja of Mexico receive a copy of it until January 25, 1815. Father Rivas's refutation seems to have been regarded so conclusive that no further steps were taken in the matter.

In October, 1809, Fr. José Faura who, together with Fr. Santiago, had built the stone church, retired to the College in Mexico after obtaining the necessary permission from Fr. Estevan Tápis. He had served the missions one year longer than the usual term of ten years since he arrived in California in 1798. Fr. Francisco Suñer took his place at San Juan Capistrano and with Fr. Santiago signed the annual report of 1809. That same year, the missionaries turned their attention to another important work. "There has been constructed," the report reads, "an aqueduct of brick masonry with an arch of the same material for the purpose of bringing water to the Mission." It is a pity that the Fathers were not more specific. At present, the Mission must depend upon a well on the Mission grounds for water for domestic purposes, a company having possessed itself of all the water from the streams that in those days must have supplied the Mission and its Indian population with water.

In 1810, after twenty-one years of service at this Mission, Fr. Norberto de Santiago, the builder of the new church, retired to the College. He had received the permit of the Fr. Presidente. His signature appears for the last time in the Baptismal Register on August 4, 1810. In this year, the water course to the Mission was continued for a distance of more than five hundred varas, about 1,400 feet. Much repairing was done on the buildings, and some of the dilapidated structures were rebuilt.

Fr. Josef Barona must have succeeded Fr. Santiago in the fall of 1810; for, in December of that year, he signed the Annual Report with Fr. Suñer. His first entry in the Baptismal Register is dated April 26, 1811, however. In 1810, as the report of December 31 shows, there was erected a banister or railing of iron before the main altar. It weighed 1,375 pounds.[5] It is now in the gallery of the old church.

[5] En altar maior una bandrilla de fierro de 25 arrobas.

CHAPTER VI.

Disputes.—Correspondence.—Indian Labor.—Hemp Culture.—Earthquake.—The Beautiful Church Ruined.—The Victims.—Old Church again Used.—Hospital Erected.

"AN important industrial topic involving the employment of neophytes as laborers," writes Bancroft, "came up for discussion in 1810. The settlers of Los Angeles, encouraged by the government to engage in the hemp-culture, had obtained from San Juan Capistrano a hundred Indians. Father Suñer for some reason not given recalled the Indians to their Mission. The settlers through the alcalde and other prominent men petitioned for an order compelling the service of the laborers, and it was reported that the president (Fr. Tápis) had forbidden such service."[1]

When Governor Arrillaga referred the matter to Fr. Tápis, the latter under date of October 5, 1810, replied in the following clear terms:

Esteemed Sir: Having acquainted myself with the contents of the documents numbered 1 to 4, and with the accompanying letter of the captain of the presidio of Santa Barbara, which you were good enough to include in your official letter of the second of the present month asking me that in consequence of said documents I indicate what seems to me more just, I have to say that it is true that, though injury and loss resulted to the settlers, the Alcalde and Verdugo, from the fact that Fr. Francisco Suñer, missionary of San Juan Capistrano, has taken away from them the one hundred Indians whom he had allowed them for the culture of hemp,—I do not see that it is in my power to come to their aid by restoring the help of which the said missionary had deprived them.

"In the reply of July 16 to a letter of the 13 of the same month, which is signed by the afore-mentioned alcalde as also by Mariano Verdugo, Juan Ballesteros, and Anastacio Avila, and in which is reproduced my supposed but false order forbidding Indians of the missions to be given them as laborers, he petitioned in the first place that from the said Mission of San Juan Capistrano, whither he had gone for laborers (peones), the petition of the

[1] Bancroft, vol. ii, pp. 90-91.

said Verdugo, Ballesteros, and others, who needed the Indians, be granted; and that in case I were inclined to do them this favor, I might command that also in the other missions the same authority be conceded.

I would have those four persons interested understand that, although by my order the missionaries of San Juan Capistrano and others could not have possibly been denied permission to grant the Indians, I was not bound to give the permit for the sake of gratifying them (the alcalde, etc.). Much less could I command that the other missions concede Indians to those who should present themselves to the alcalde for the purpose of obtaining Indians, since I had no authority to make such a distribution of Indians.

I said then, and I repeat it now, that I have no authority for the distribution of mission Indians, as is clear from the following provisions: 1. It is commanded by the royal decree of September 13, 1713, that individual Indians from Missions shall not be let out for personal service unless they so desire voluntarily. It may be prudently supposed that such is never the case, or at most with very few, when there is question of sending them to work at the presidio. 2. The letting out of Indians in those territories where the law permits, it can be done only with Indians who live no farther away than ten leagues from the place where they are to labor. 3. Inasmuch as spiritual assistance is lacking the neophytes in the Pueblo (Los Angeles), as may be inferred from the documents mentioned, I can not countenance that they be deprived of this necessary aid to which they have a special right and of which they can not be deprived for the sake of furthering the temporal interests of certain individuals. 4. Lastly, the distribution of the Indians is a matter that pertains to the government and not to the Fr. Presidente.

Therefore, if Your Honor, exercising your authority as governor of the province, judge it expedient to assign to each Mission a determinate number of neophytes and destine them to help the settlers and neighbors in the cultivation of hemp, I should concur with all my energy that your orders be respected and obeyed. At the same time, however, I must needs remind you, with all due submission, that in most of the missions, whence the settlers may expect laborers, the neophytes are already devoting themselves to hemp culture, which would then require again as many hands, because the Indians would assuredly do much less work at the Mission, if by the day they have to work outside.

The captain of the presidio of Santa Barbara writes that this culture of hemp was first conceded to the settlers and inhabitants, and that afterwards, he does not know for what purpose, the same concession was made to the Missions. Now, before the year 1795, the settlers and inhabitants had no such particular exclusive concession. In that same year, however, the Missions had not only the concession but also the charge for the cultivation and profit of hemp, and that from the governor, Don Diego de Borica. The captain was well aware that neither before nor after, but at the same

STONE CHURCH AFTER EARTHQUAKE. FORMATION OF ROOF. DETAILS.

time with the settlers and inhabitants, the Missions could devote themselves to hemp culture, for which purpose in the past year seeds were distributed to them, as I believe they were distributed to the settlers and inhabitants. Nevertheless, if by this privilege of cultivating hemp the Missions have prejudiced the settlers, it is sufficient that Your Honor so intimate to me, so that I may issue a circular to the missionaries, exhorting them to desist from the culture of hemp. I have reason to believe that my words will have the desired good effect.

I would also call to the mind of Your Honor that the workman ought to proportion his field to the strength of his own arms rather than to that of strangers. If he can not successfully plant and cultivate more than twelve or thirteen fanegas, let him plant less, in which case it will be easy for him to work it with the aid of his family. Should this not suffice, there will not be wanting one or the other day-laborer to help him. Fr. Estévan Tápis.[2]

It seems the matter rested there, as we hear no more complaints on the subject.

Early in 1812, according to the report for that year, new structures were erected for the soap-factory, carpenter-shop, and wagon-shop. In addition two barns were built in which to store the new wheat.

A lamentable disaster, which made the day memorable ever after, befell the Mission late in 1812 and undid the labor of nine years. Fathers Francisco Suñer and José Barona, the two missionaries then in charge, reported the calamity as follows:

"On the eighth day of this month (December) consecrated to the Most Pure Conception of the Most Holy Virgin, a terrible earthquake occurred while the first holy Mass was being celebrated, which was about (the figure is torn out) in the morning. In a moment it completely destroyed the new church built of masonry (cal y canto). It required more than nine years to construct it, but it lasted no more than six years and three months to the day; for it was blessed on September 8, 1806. The tower tottered twice. At the second shock it fell on the portal and bore this down, causing the concrete roof to cave in as far as the transept exclusively. Forty Indians, thirty-eight adults and two children, were buried beneath the ruins, only six escaping as by a

[2] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 369.

miracle. Of the whites, none were killed, though some were at the holy Mass. The worst of all is the death of those unfortunates. The mishap has left us without a church, for on account of clefts and breaks it is altogether unserviceable; and because the walls of the fallen part remain high, we dare not work and are in constant fear." [3]

"The edifice was of the usual cruciform shape, about ninety by one hundred and eighty feet on the ground, with very thick walls and arched dome-like roof, all constructed of stones imbedded in mortar or cement. The stones were not hewn but of irregualr size and shape, a kind of structure evidently requiring skill to ensure solidity . . . . At my first visit in 1874 I noticed that at some time long past a feeble attempt had been made to rebuild a part of the walls with adobes." [4]

In the Death Register we find the following entry, differing somewhat as to figures from the one just adduced. The entry was made by Fr. Barona on December 9 and 10, and it reads:

"I gave ecclesiastical burial in the cemetery of the church of this Mission to the following male and female adults and to a child, who died buried beneath the ruins of the said church, which was destroyed on the eighth of said month and year at the time of the first holy Mass."

Fr. Barona entered each victim separately, giving the name, age, and condition. Then he signed his name at the end of the list. Hence we find that the killed were four married men, three single men, twenty-five married women, four widows, two single women, and one male child, thirty-nine altogether. It speaks well for the religious fervor of the Indians of San Jaun Capistrano that so many attended holy Mass so early, about seven o'clock, or at sunrise. It is especially pathetic to read that twenty-five married women, mothers, are enumerated among the dead. They had left the children at home, and had hurried off to church because they could not have atttended High Mass, which probably began at nine or nine-thirty, and with the sermon would last an

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[3] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. iv, pp. 220-221. The report is in the handwriting of Fr. Suñer and is signed by him and by Fr. Barona.

[4] Bancroft, vol. ii, pp. 347-348.

hour and a half, much longer than the Low Mass early in the morning.

On February 26, 1813, after the ruins had been entirely cleared away and more than two months after the catastrophe, the body of a married woman was discovered.[5] This brought the number of victims up to forty. We have no authentic description of the disaster beyond what the missionaries officially reported. But if we may give credence to an old Indian, most of the bodies were found near the side door. From this it would seem that at the first shock, all crowded to the door on the left side of the church toward the present garden, but were unable to open the door because its lock had been disarranged by the quake. Before the victims had time to escape through the sacristy as invited by the priest at the altar, a second shock brought down, as far as the transept which remained intact, the heavy mass of concrete of which the vaulted roofs were constructed and thus buried all beneath it. The tower fell toward the front of the building and in this way barred escape through the front door.

Gradually the ruins were cleared away and then the former (Fr. Serra's) church was again used for divine services. The iron railing which stretched along the sanctuary in the ruined church, was made to do service as a balustrade for the gallery in the old structure, where it may still be seen.

The newly appointed Fr. Presidente José Señan justly finds reason for gratitude that the earthquake occurred at so early an hour. Reporting the sad misfortune to the governor, he writes: "The church of San Juan Capistrano in one moment was found a heap of mortar and stone, which covered forty neophytes. If the disaster had occurred at the time of the High Mass, instead of during the first Mass, on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, scarcely any neophytes would have been left at San Juan Capistrano. Of those who were in the church at the time of the calamity only six escaped. No white people were killed, although a few were present at the holy Mass. The celebrant who happened to be at the Offertory of the Mass, saved himself through the door of the vestry."[6]

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[5] She was Paulina Quieran, wife of Policarpo Antonio Jauro.

[6] Fr. Señan, *Informe Bienal,* April 9, 1913. *Santa Barbara Archives.*

STONE CHURCH AFTER EARTHQUAKE. LEFT WING OF TRANSEPT.
DOOR TO VESTRY. DETAILS.

The first Baptism after the disaster was administered on January 30, 1813, in the old church (en la iglesia) as the officiating priest, Fr. Suñer, says in entry number 3,411. The subject was a child named Jacinto. Likewise in the old church, Fr. Barona administered Baptism number, 3,412, on February 18, 1813. But number 3,413, Benito Niceto, an infant of Indian parents, was baptized by Fr. Suñer on March 21, 1813, on which occasion he remarks, "this is the first one baptized in the new baptistry after the ruin of the church."

During this year, 1813, the Fathers had not the heart to build anything new and therefore reported on December 31, "Nothing worthy of note has been done, for we had enough to do repairing what tumbled down; and this was a great deal, not only as a consequence of the earthquake, but also as a result of the floods."

Fr. Suñer's last entry is dated April 23, 1814. He was succeeded by Fr. Geronimo Boscana who enters into the Register for the first time on May 19 of that year. From an entry made on February 2, 1814, we learn that Patricio Ontiveras, an invalid soldier, was mayordomo. His wife was Antonia Rodriguez.

At the close of 1814, Fathers Barona and Boscana report that during the year a hospital had been built, containing bed rooms and corresponding salas or reception rooms for the convenience of the sick. Attached to it was a chapel for the administration of the sacraments to the sick, as also rooms for the nurses and a room for the medicine and other requisites of the hospital. Furthermore, a wall separating the *patio* of the hospital from the various shops of the Mission had been erected. In 1817, the same two Fathers report that a decent chapel had been constructed for the hospital, probably because the first one was not suitable or was needed for other purposes. It was situated in the rear of the *patio,* about opposite the new Protestant meeting house.

No other building operations are mentioned in subsequent reports, save that those already erected were kept in repair.

CHAPTER VII.

The Indians and their Habits.—Fr. Boscana's Chinigchinich.—Bouchard Invasion.—Mission Looted.—Controversy.—Dispute about Cattle.

IN October, 1812, the Government of Spain proposed a set of thirty-six questions to all the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Spanish America. These questions reached California in the summer of 1814 through the Bishop of Sonora. Each missionary was requested to reply to them as far as they were applicable to his mission. The Fathers of San Juan Capistrano answered them very briefly. Under the date of August 8, 1814, they wrote their answers to questions as follows:

"The settlement at San Juan Capistrano, comprises, besides the two missionaries, only full-blooded Indians and six soldiers of the guard with their families.

"Among themselves, the Indians speak their own language. Many of them understand a little Spanish, but not perfectly.

"They love their wives, provided they please them or have children. The children, however, receive no education from them at all. Besides instructing them in the Doctrina and in their obligations, the missionaries teach them agriculture and the mechanical arts, so that the Indians may learn to maintain themselves and become civilized.

"The Indians are very vacillating. Hence we can not say whether or not they harbor any affection for the Europeans.

"In their savage state, they have neither characters nor ciphers for writing, since their whole knowledge is from tradition. They are fond of learning to read and write in our characters; but it is more from curiosity than through eagerness.

"These Indians are poor and wretched; wherefore we find meekness and submissiveness to be their principal characteristics.

"They have many ridiculous superstitions which are difficult to understand.

"In this Mission we use a short catechism, comprising what the natives must know as Christians. It is translated into their

own language, along with the Acts of Faith, Hope, Charity, and Contrition.

"It is known that in their savage state they worship a large bird similar to a kite (milano), which they rear from its nest with the greatest care. Regarding it they have many erroneous ideas.

"The manner in which they contract marriage is as follows: The lover will send a representative, always a relative, to the parents of the girl, asking that they let her become his wife. If they consent, he will send her presents in the shape of beads, seeds, or other trifles that are in vogue. Then, for some days, the girl serves in the habitation of the groom, and if she pleases him, they are regarded as married. Of course, this refers to the Indian only in his savage state.

"Their methods of healing also are simple. If the malady is external, such as wounds or tumors, they use various herbs, which after being crushed and roasted in an oven, are applied. If the malady is internal, they employ superstitious practices, as sucking through a quill, etc.

"They distinguish the seasons of the year by means of the trees watching them when they begin to bloom, to bud, and to lose their foliage, as also from the time when seeds and herbs may be gathered. They count the months by the moon, and the hours by the sun.

"At the Mission, the neophytes are given their regular meal in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. The pagans, however, have no stated hours, for they eat at all hours as long as they have something.

"These Indians do not use any fermented drinks, not in their pagan state, either, as far as is known. All are very fond of getting drunk, however; for if they can find any liquor, they do not stop drinking until they are overcome.

"We do not know whether they adore moon and sun. When they see the new moon however they make a great outcry to show their satisfaction. If there is an eclipse of the sun or moon they shout at the top of their voice at the same time beating on the ground or on hides or mats with sticks, in order to manifest the pain they feel.

"The Indians preserve all the customs of their forbears. But by prudence and zeal the Christians are gradually weaned from them. Regarding their race, nothing could be discovered.

"At their burials, or rather after them, they retire and weep, and perform a dance at which they practice all their superstitions and brutalities.

"As to fidelity in their dealings, they may be compared to the Chinese.

"As the father of lies has dominated over them so many centuries, he has imbued them with the habit of lying to such a degree that they can not say the truth without first lying; for almost always they say the opposite of what they have in mind.

"We can say nothing about their dominant vices.

"They do not refuse to share what they have with their friends or relatives.

"The Indians are very irascible and nourish hatred a long time. In their savage state, they would revenge themselves even by killing; but we do not know whether these Indians ever offered human sacrifices.

"As the Indians live in community, they all are equally rich and poor. They recognize only a *capitan,* whom they call such.

"Apparently, these Indians never heard music, for they do not cultivate it; nor have they in their pagan state any musical instruments whatever. On the other hand, our music pleases them exceedingly, above all the pathetic and melodious, vocal as well as instrumental music. It must be observed that they easily learn to play any instrument, no matter what it may be.

"We believe that there are very few who have the faintest idea of Eternity, Hell, and Heaven. In their pagan state, they appear to be materialists.

"At this Mission, we use the same kind of clothing in form and texture as is used at the other missions, men and women.—Fr. Josef Barona, Fr. Gerónimo Boscana.[1]

Eleven years later, November, 1825, Fr. Boscana here compiled his *Chinígchinich* (should be *Ching-ee-ching-itch*) or His-

[1] *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Fr. Boscana wrote the document. Compare the replies of the missionaries of San Diego and of San Luis Rey.

FR. GERONIMO BOSCANA, O. F. M.,
Author of "Chinigchinich"

torical Account on the Origin, Habits, and Tradition of the Indians at Mission San Juan Capistrano called Acágcheme Nation. "The manuscript ends rather abruptly," Alfred Robinson writes in his *Life in California,*" and it is uncertain if the holy Father ever intended it for publication. After his death in 1831, it was found among his effects with other writings which came into the possession of the Syndic of the Mission (José de la Guerra) who kindly presented it to me." The manuscript should have gone to the Fathers of Mission Santa Barbara, who, according to the regulations were the true heirs.

There was considerable excitement in California during the latter part of 1818, when two Buenos Ayres privateers appeared under the command of one who called himself General Hypolite Bouchard. He demanded that the Californians throw off their allegiance to Spain and join the insurgents of Argentina, but the strangers met with no friendly reception. Accordingly, they took and held Monterey for five days, whereupon they sacked the place and departed. After looting and burning the Rancho del Refúgio nine leagues from Santa Barbara, they moved south as far as the roadstead of San Juan Capistrano. "At this point," Fr. Prefecto Mariano Payeras writes, "the insurgents landed, went to the Mission and after looting and burning a part if it, retired." [2]

The affair might have terminated here, but a controversy ensued and therefore we must go into particulars. Bancroft relates: "On December 14th to 15th, Bouchard was at San Juan Capistrano. At the first news of his approach, Commandant Ruiz of San Diego sent Alférez Santiago Argüello with thirty men on the 13th to protect the Mission. The padres had not been so energetic at San Juan as elsewhere in removing property; but Argüello's men hastily completed the work as far as possible, and families were sent to the Trabuco rancho. When Bouchard landed, probably on the 14th, he sent a letter to the person in charge, asking for certain supplies. Argüello, posted with his force on a hill near the mission, refused the request, very likely in no gentle terms. I do not deem it certain that the insurgents did any damage at San Juan. Solá says that they burned a few straw houses

[2] *Informe Bienal,* May 4, 1819.

of the neophytes before going on board. Later witnesses state that some wine and oil, that could not be carried away were spilled. Next day reenforcements arrived from Santa Barbara and Los Angeles, soon followed by Captain José de la Guerra. After the vessels of the South American insurgents had sailed, on the 15th or 16th, four deserters presented themselves and asked pardon on the ground that they had been forced against their will to enlist in the insurgent service. There was no reason to doubt their honest intentions, and they were merely sent into the interior and kept under guard for a time as a precaution. The four men were the negro Mateo José Pascual, who had before been captured and exchanged; John Rose, a Scotch drummer, aged twenty-seven; Pedro Zaldivar of Buenos Ayres; and Nicholas Chavarria of Bogotá, both young men.[3]

"With José de la Guerra," writes Hittell, "came a body of soldiers from Santa Barbara, and a missionary who manifested an extraordinary spirit. This was Father Luis Antonio Martínez of San Luis Obispo. When he heard of the attack of the insurgents at the Refugio Rancho, although ill and confined to his chamber, he instantly rose; gathered a body of thirty-five of his stoutest Indians; armed them with the best weapons he could; placed himself at their head, and marched with them to Santa Barbara. He there joined the comandante and his soldiers and with them marched all the way to San Juan Capistrano, willingly undergoing all the fatigues of the hard campaign. Such a man would have fought well and in a congenial sphere of action might have done great deeds. But Bouchard did not afford him an opportunity of distinguishing himself. That night he put to sea; and in the morning he and his vessels were entirely out of sight of land."[4]

"A controversy arose," Bancroft continues, "between the Fathers and Don Santiago Argüello, when the Fathers had been allowed to re-occupy the Mission. They charged him with having neglected the Mission property; that besides other articles, injured or lost, considerable wine and brandy had been wasted;

[3] Bancroft, vol. ii, pp. 240-241.

[4] Hittéll, vol. i. p. 656, quoting *Cal. Arch., St. Pap.*, vol. xvii, pp 627-628; 661; 672-673.

that two Indians drank themselves to death, while another became insane; and that he had needlessly driven away the friars when they came back on December 16th, forcing them to wander about in great suffering for two days more; and that he had returned to San Diego without leaving any soldiers for the protection of San Juan. Argüello, on the other hand, denied that any material damage had been done, or that any Indians had been killed; that on the contrary the friars had been remiss in removing and caring for the mission property; and that they had with insulting words refused the horses, food and other aid needed by the military force under his command." [5]

The real facts of the case are somewhat different from those just related by Bancroft. Indeed, Santiago Argüello saw fit to defend himself. Reporting from San Diego to Governor Solá on April 2, 1819, he says "that he acknowledges the good comportment of the Rev. Fathers of Mission San Luis Rey, who let his soldiers have all the horses they needed; that the fault lay with the Fathers of San Juan Capistrano, who had locked the doors and abandoned the Mission on the arrival of the insurgents; that it was Fr. Barona himself who declared previously he would not leave, no matter what the insurgents did, but that afterwards the Fathers of the Mission exaggerated and ascribed it (the damages) to the soldiers of the king." [6] Contrary to the statement of Bancroft, who says that Captain de la Guerra blamed the missionaries, this military officer, on April 6, 1819, exculpated both officers and missionaries.[7]

A more vexatious dispute between two ranchéros and Mission San Juan Capistrano, that had been dragging on for years, at last came to a head. Sergeant Guillermo Cota, retired, and Juan José Nieto, of the adjoining Rancho de Santa Gertrudis, claimed that since the year 1802 their cattle had been grazing as far as the Rio Santa Ana without prejudice to the Mission herds; but that the mayordomos of the Mission, through wrong branding and otherwise, had robbed their rancho of 2,500 head of cattle. They

[5] *California*, vol. ii, p. 242.
[6] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.*, vol. xx, pp. 91-92. *Bancroft Collection.*
[7] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.*, vol. xx, pp. 87-90. *Bancroft Collection.*

appealed to the governor; but without avail. Finally, they concluded to submit their claim to the sense of justice and to the conscience of the Fr. Comisario Prefecto. Accordingly, on September 3, 1821, they in writing stated their case to Fr. Mariano Payeras, petitioning him to grant them justice.

The Fr. Prefecto called for evidence from both parties. In reply, Fr. José Barona informed his Superior that the governor had already settled the case in favor of Mission San Juan Capi-

DETAILS FROM THE STONE CHURCH. TRIPLE ARCH IN THE PATIO.

strano; wherefore no one else had any right to set aside such a decision. It appeared also that the claimants had not accurately stated the points at issue. From Santa Barbara, on August 6, 1817, Fr. Francisco Suñer, who had been stationed at San Juan Capistrano from 1809 to 1813, explained the situation to Governor Solá as follows:

Antonio Maria Nieto presented himself here a short time ago and said that on next Wednesday, August 13, he and his two older brothers had been

called by Your Honor to appear at the Mission of San Juan Capistrano. I am persuaded that it is to examine into the case that has been of so long duration between them and the Mission. Fr. Juan Norberto de Santiago, who had charge of the Mission for more than twenty years, already made complaints. I, too, who was in charge of the Mission for about five years, have complained. And not only the missionaries in charge now, but also those who may yet follow, will complain, no matter who the neighbors may be, unless Your Honor terminates the quarrel. In my time the most convincing proof of their unjust mode of procedure was given; but each put the blame on the other. They would make promises, but would fail to keep them. They were told to brand their cattle every year, as we did ours; in this way the cattle of each party would be rendered distinguishable, their owner would be known, and there would be no occasion for dispute. But when they realized that by not branding their cattle they would be in a position to appropriate cattle other than their own, they took no heed, looking only to how they might make sales north and south and thus remove all the cattle, although these were without brand or the so-called earmark. Tired of seeing so many unbranded animals passing through San Juan Capistrano, Fr. Barona and I resolved to have the corporal of the guard and the mayordomo review them all as they passed down the road and, if they discovered unbranded cattle, no matter to whom they might belong, to separate them from the rest and let them return withersoever they pleased. Your Honor will not have forgotten the uproar which this first experiment caused. Of 400 head of cattle, we thus turned loose 167 head, and since they were not branded, it was not known to whom they belonged." [8]

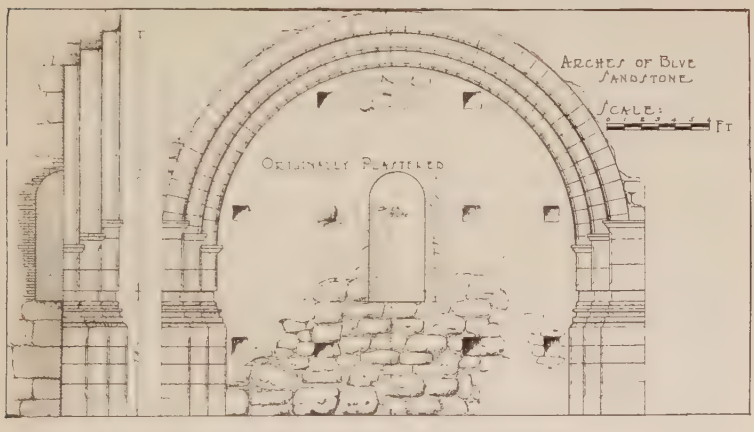
Ignorant of these facts at the time, and wishing to show the opposing parties that he appreciated their confidence in his impartiality, Fr. Payéras, on November 10, 1821, asked Governor Solá to reconsider the testimony because, unless they were shown the justice of his decision, the claimants would never rest satisfied. To justify his interference, Fr. Payéras wrote at some length. Substantially his letter read as follows:

In the visitation of the southern Missions which I have just concluded, the retired Sergeant Guillermo Cota and Juan José Nieto presented themselves in person and in a formal petition asked me to take into consideration the damage which the Mission of San Juan Capistrano, adjoining their Rancho of Santa Gertrudis, had done to their cattle. Since I was chosen by them the arbitrating judge and conciliating Father, who should do them justice, regarding the differences between them and the Mission, amicably, without

[8] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 713.

noise, and without the form of legal proceedings, so that the effects might be produced just the same, they declared they would abide by whatever, after having examined the matter, I should declare before God and my conscience to be just.

In consequence of such an avowal and on account of the great satisfaction which without my merit the two petitioners afforded me, although it was a case against one of the missions under my jurisdiction, and since I was desirous of effectively terminating a misunderstanding of so many years' standing and already to some extent a scandal, I began to take extra-judicial testimony *pro* and *con* in the case, with the intention of hearing both parties later on. Things proceeded in this way, when Fr. José Barona informed me [9] that years before the two claimants had presented their case in judicial



AN ARCH IN THE STONE CHURCH.

form to Your Honor; and that Your Honor had ordered a suit to be instituted in legal form. It appears to me that your order is well founded. Therefore, having already notified the party demanding satisfaction, I pass the matter on to Your Honor. But I supplicate you anxiously, to take such wise steps as will satisfy both parties, one party having already pledged itself to prove that it has suffered damage, and the other defending itself against such accusation.

In reply to this communication, the Governor informed the Fr. Prefecto on December 6, 1821 that he would re-examine the case on his next visit to Los Angeles. Whether he did so and with what

[9] in a long letter dated November 6, 1821 and preserved in *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

result is not known. But under date of February 26, 1822, Fr. Barona wrote as follows to Fr. Payéras:

Beloved Prelate:—I received the very esteemed letter of Your Reverence, in which you tell me that, when he comes down, the governor will settle the case concerning the cattle. We shall see how it turns out. If His Honor had wished, the whole affair might have already been forgotten. This year proved very dry. It was impossible to plant, on account of the drouth, and the prospects for rain are still poor. We are awaiting the drafts of from 1,200 to 1,300 dollars for provisions and for soap which had been furnished to the troops on the frontier in the year 1821.[10] There is no other news. Regards from Fr. Geronimo (Boscana). Your Reverence may command your subject and brother missionary, Q. B. S.M.—Fr. José Barona.

There is nothing on record to show how the dispute ended. Very likely it was dropped on account of the political troubles then beginning to agitate the minds. At all events, the action of the Fr. Prefecto in the matter is but another instance in proof of the fact that the missionaries were willing to go any length in order to satisfy the settlers and to keep peace with them.

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[10] On such drafts neither this nor any other Mission received anything from Mexico; but as stewards of the Indian wards, the Fathers were obliged to keep an account. *Santa Barbara Archives.*

CHAPTER VIII.

A Scandalous Case.—Fr. Barona Illtreated by Soldiers.—Two Soldiers Repent.—Fr. Sarría's Protest.—Mexican President's Decision.—Fr. Durán on the Subject.—Bancroft's Misstatement.—Destruction of Papers.—Contribution of the Mission.—Fr. Barona Ill.—Oath of Allegiance.

A FAR more scandalous case than the dispute related in the preceding chapter occurred early in 1823. It was reported to the Commissary-Prefect, Fr. Mariano Payéras, in a letter which is here reproduced:

San Juan Capistrano Mission, March 6, 1823.—My Venerable Father, Prelate, and Esteemed Señor:—Let us begin with the subject of the most scandalous case which has been witnessed in California and which occurred at this Mission on January 23, the most memorable of the ugly and dreadful days, the like of which has never been seen in this Province of California. I will not mention the particulars as they happened. I will tell you only that the three soldiers who comprisè the guard appeared before us with their weapons; the one in charge with a saber; the other with a gun, which he leveled at us as if he were going to shoot; the third with a lance, but making no gestures whatever; and all this was done in the presence of the Indians.

The reason for this scandalous scene was this. Fr. Barona resolved to go to San Luis Rey, because Fr. Antonio Peyri had called for him. As there was no soldier ready to escort him, the leader was told that he need not fear. The Father wanted to mount the horse, but the three prevented it in the manner described; the leader seizing the bridle of the horse, would not let the Father mount. Finally, he did mount; but the leader would not give up the reins; and when the Father was in the saddle, the leader gave the horse such a violent push that it fell to one side and the Father below it,[1] at the same time saying that no friar was to leave without permission. Through the mercy of God, Fr. Barona suffered no particular injury.

On account of the scandal and the contumely on our character, since the Indians were present, we notified the comandante of San Diego, who in reply told us that he would refer the case with my letter to his chief. I wrote it with all the circumstances also to the Fr. Presidente,[2] on account of the ex-

[1] "estando el Padre en la silla dio (el encargado) tal empujon al caballo que le tumbo de costillas y al Padre debajo."

[2] Fr. José Señan, who was Vicário Foraneo of the Bishop and, therefore, the highest ecclesiastical official in the territory.

communication incurred especially by the leader and the one who had the gun. Inasmuch as the case was not so public and the particulars occurred as described, we would not manifest the least detail to any one, and for this reason we have related it neither to Your Reverence nor to the governor. Mission San Juan Capistrano, March 6, 1823.—Fr. Gerónimo Boscana.[3]

A preliminary examination seems to have been instituted by the comandante of San Diego; but the two Fathers declined to testify. Thereupon that officer referred the matter to Governor Argüello, who regarded the case so serious that under date of March 4, 1823, he requested the Presidente, Fr. José Señan, to permit the missionaries to give the requisite testimony. In reply, Fr. Señan wrote:

In compliance with your esteemed note of March 4, of the present year, I at once wrote to the Rev. Missionary Fathers of Mission San Juan Capistrano, giving them my permission to make a declaration *in verbo sacerdotis, o tacto pectore sacerdotali* (on the word of a priest or with the hand on the priestly breast) of what had occurred at said Mission regarding the scandalous incident of January 23, last. I even exhorted them, in the name of Holy Mother Church, to make said declaration as soon as their Reverences should be notified by the official commissioner; for, as I wrote to them, it is not in our power to cede or to renounce the right and the privilege of that part of Canon Law, since it is formulated in favor of the Church and her clergy at large. Nor can Your Reverences renounce what, although in a military way, is due to army chaplains whose offices you are exercising for lack of such chaplains; for, according to the hackneyed axiom of the Law, 'He who succeeds to a charge, enjoys its honors.'" Under the same date, under which I instructed the Fathers, March 23, the captain of San Diego was given the same statement for his information. At the same time, I asked that, when the trial was concluded, he remit to me a certified copy of the part that would concern me; namely the declaration whether or not the culprits, or any of them, had incurred the excommunication according to the Canon, *Si quis suadente diabolo etc.*[4]

It appears that the two soldiers, whose names were Juan Alipas and Hilario Garcia, soon realized the enormity of their offence, although it was only accessory to Cañedo's action. They approached Fr. Fernando Martin of San Diego Mission for the purpose of having themselves restored to membership in the Church,

[3] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 1,432.
[4] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 1,440.

ARCH IN THE NAVE. PILLARS OF THE SANCTUARY.

which they had forfeited. Not having the requisite authority to act, Fr. Martin seems to have applied to Fr. José Señan, the Presidente of the Missions and the representative of the Bishop of the diocese. At all events, Fr. Señan, then on his deathbed, directed Fr. Blas Ordaz to draw up the document authorizing Fr. Martin to absolve privately, outside the confessional, the guilty soldiers, after they had given satisfaction to Fr. Barona and had promised amendment, as the formula in the Roman Ritual required. With regard to the chief culprit, José Cañedo, it was first to be ascertained under oath whether he was aware of the penalty imposed by the Canon. If not, Fr. Martin was to deal with him as with the others, but was to impose some additional punishment as indicated in the Roman Ritual. If Cañedo knew the gravity of the crime, however, and the penalty of excommunication attached to it, then he was at once to be declared excommunicated for the crime committed at Mission San Juan Capistrano, in that he laid violent hands on the venerable person of the Rev. Fr. Josef Barona, missionary of that Mission, who was thereby most greviously outraged in a public place and in the presence of his subjects. Fr. Martin was to affix a written notice of the excommunication to the doors of the presidio and of the church. Cañedo was to be notified, and if he humbly and contritely submitted, he was to be absolved after having given full satisfaction and performed the additional penances prescribed. Fr. Señan signed these instructions on August 2, 1823, three weeks before his death. He passed away on the 24 of the same month.

The trial was held at San Diego, it seems. Of the personel and details we know nothing. But the outcome was a remarkable one, which will be learned best from a long communication of Fr. Vicente de Sarría, the successor of Fr. Señan, to the governor of the territory, Luis de Argüello.

Fr. Sarría knew nothing of the case until after assuming office, when he discovered the documents among the papers of the late Fr. Presidente. He found also a copy of the ridiculous decision of the military commissioner, which was to the effect that the said soldier, José Cañedo, came out of the trial triumphant, as Fr. Sarría puts it, inasmuch as it was declared that he had done

his duty (que hizo su deber), and that consequently the Fathers, especially Fr. Geronimo Boscana, (it should be Fr. José Barona), were culpable. The name of this singular judge is not mentioned; but his method of reaching a decision is reported and this should be perpetuated.

In his letter the Fr. Prefecto first of all makes it clear that his predecessor had already marked out the procedure to be followed in freeing the soldiers of the penalty of excommunication. Therefore, he would leave to the tribunal of conscience to judge what further steps were to be taken by Cañedo. Only he would make it a condition that the said Cañedo refrain from declaring that he had done his duty, or that he was innocent, as in substance the sentence of the military judge commissioner declared. He as Prefect would desist from any further act of public satisfaction. Then Fr. Sarría continues:

It seems to me that the judicial proceedings as reported have the substantial defect that due testimony was not taken. Those examined were the guilty soldiers, from whom alone there is a declaration; and one or the other woman of the guard; all the Indians, however, who as the trial itself demonstrates had been present at San Juan Capistrano, were excluded, although it was for their sake that the trial was instituted. Furthermore, it was left out that the witnesses who were admitted or the culprits prompted one another in their declaration. It seems, one Hilário himself declared that only they, that is the soldiers, were present, while at another time he declared that the Indians were present, as is clear. In this way, the trial was conducted.

Of course, I know it will be said that the Indians who were present in very great numbers ought not to have been examined, because they were favorable or partial to their missionaries. A fine argument! and the witnesses, or rather the culprits, for the most part, were not partial? . . .

With regard to the statement of the defender of the guilty soldier Cañedo, that it is the constant custom for the Father to go out on his journeys with a guard, I have to say that although this may be so in general, yet here at this very Mission (San Carlos) under the eyes of the governor the opposite happens not infrequently. Nor is it customary here that during holy Mass a soldier be posted as watchman, although I shall not deny that such a custom may prevail at the Mission of San Juan Capistrano and in other places.

However, who will say that when the soldier chances not to have a horse, the Father or the Mission must necessarily give him one; and if he can not, the said Father may not go out to exercise his priestly office? Such was the case at San Juan Capistrano; and it must be further observed that the Father of the nearest Mission, San Luis Rey, is alone with 2,675 souls, as

the latest report shows. Said Fr. Barona went to visit him, using a horse not of his own Mission (from which we may infer the dearth existing there) but a horse of Mission San Luis Rey; and perhaps on that occasion or regularly he went to make his confession. Now, because the soldier of San Juan Capistrano had no horse, should the Father have been prevented by force from going to perform that necessary exercise? I do not know whether the corporal, who on his departure for San Diego placed José Cañedo in charge, left orders to prevent by every force the departure of the Fathers; and if this was done by orders, they may have had them from their chief officers, which I do not believe, then *I protest in the name of all the Fathers, and in defence of our state and ministry, against such violence.*

Fr. Sarría then refers to the Spanish laws on the subject, which favored the missionaries and countenanced no such assumption as the military officials may have claimed in justification. Then he continues:

I do not say, that if the journey went through dangerous regions and localities, so regarded on account of savage pagans or for other reasons, another manner of proceeding should not have been adopted. But the road from San Juan Capistrano to San Luis Rey is so much travelled and frequented that not the slightest danger is to be feared. What a hardship it would be for our state and ministry if, because the soldier of the mission guard lacks a horse, the Father should be compelled to put off a journey that is necessary for the welfare of the souls, or for the discharge of his office? What if this were done at this Mission of Carmelo? Indeed, how many times would we be exposing ourselves to the danger of having the sick, on whose behalf they clamored at the presidio or at some distant rancho, die without confession, if at that hour no soldier were around who could go along as guard, since he was occupied elsewhere? All this is well known to Your Honor; wherefore I pass over what I should wish to say.

As to Fr. Gerónimo Boscana, (it should be Fr. José Barona) I perceive his conduct was not a little reprehensible for resisting the forcible action of the soldier, and for not having made the solemn protest that every ecclesiastical person must make in a case of bloodshed or mutilation.

With regard to the outcome of Cañedo's trial, I repeat that it was necessary to take the testimony of the great number of the neophytes who were present. Nor do I think it just to endeavor to frame an excuse for the soldier Cañedo by means of the testimony of the soldiers, themselves guilty, or of the associates of the chief culprit, when it is evident that they have with such animosity had a share with him in the affair.

It is important that the caes be examined somewhat closely, for the sake of truth and for the honor of our ministry; and for this reason I am writing by this mail to the Rev. Fr. Guardian of our Apostolic College under much pressure for time; for I did not know until yesterday that the case had been

referred to the Supreme Government, nor do the Fathers of very distant San Juan Capistrano know it; wherefore they could present nothing for the renewed examination, especially Fr. Boscana (Fr. Barona) who on the former occasion did not complete his testimony.

As far as I am concerned and as far as it depends upon me, I on behalf of the Fathers, my subjects, do not want and do not solicit any punishment whatever, nor any revenge that might result from anything exposed here against any one. We desire only that our ministry be not vituperated.—Fr. Vicente Francisco de Sarría, San Carlos, September 27, 1823.[5]

From this it appears that an incomplete record of the case was presented to the President of Mexico, to whom Governor Argüello thought fit to refer it. The Ministry of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs finally rendered the following decision:

Under date of February 19, last, His Excellency the Minister of War communicates to me what follows: 'The Supreme Tribunal of War by note of the 15 instant tells me what follows:—Excellent Sir. In accord with this Supreme Tribunal I communicate to Your Excellency the certified copy of the testimony of December 10, last, issued in the case reported about the soldier of the presidial company of San Diego, José Cañedo and associates, accused, the first of having raised his hand against the missionary of the Mission of San Juan Capistrano, Fr. Gerónimo Boscana, (Fr. José Barona) for the purpose of remitting it to the Rev. Fr. Presidente and Vicario Foraneo of the Mission of San Buenaventura, Fr. José Señan, in order that informed of the full justification of the said José Cañedo and his associates Juan Alipas and Hilário García, and employing the clemency of the Church, he simply absolve them, if he should still deem them excommunicated, giving notice by return mail that they are absolved, or that they had been absolved before. It is to be observed that the absolution should be extended privately, in order to avoid every occasion for scandal that malice can create.

Likewise by order of the President I insert it for Your Excellency that you may be pleased to look to its execution, enclosing to that end the testimony of the case of December 10, last, which is related therein. And I insert for Your Paternity on behalf of its execution, remitting to you the testimony of the case of December 10, last of which there is mention.—God keep Your Reverence many years. Mexico, March 2, 1825.—Llave.[6]

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[5] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

[6] *Sta. Barb. Arch*, ad annum.—Pablo de la Llave was Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs in the cabinet of Presidente Guadalupe Victoria. He had received the holy Order of Priesthood and had devoted himself to the study of botany, if we may believe Bancroft. Among the sub-ordinates of Llave was the notorious Arizpe, also a priest, but more of a politician, and an enemy of the missionaries.—See Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, vol. iv, p. 451; vol. v, pp. 2-3; 31.

STONE CHURCH AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE.
ENTRANCE TO SANCTUARY.

When the document arrived in California, the Fr. Presidente had been dead nearly two years. Fr. Narciso Durán, who succeeded him as Superior of the Missions, replied as follows:

In compliance with what it pleased Your Excellency to order me, I have to say that I would have at once proceeded to absolve the said accused, provided they were sorry of their excess, if there was any; and provided the corresponding satisfaction had been given to the aggrieved party, if that had been necessary; but my predecessor in the office of Vicário Foraneo of these Missions, the Rev. Fr. José Señan, (may his soul rest in God) already proceeded to do this two years ago in the coming month of August; and from that time this case, so far as depends on my office, has been concluded, etc. May God, our Lord, keep the life of Your Excellency many years. Mission San José, July 14, 1825.—Fr. Narcisco Duran." [7]

Heretofore, the soldiers had been insolent enough toward the missionaries, but they had never attempted to offer personal violence. Bancroft says it was "probably the first instance of actual violence to a friar." [8] That same historian has things mixed, however, when he relates that "finally in December, 1824, the supreme tribunal in Mexico declared that Cañedo had merely carried out the orders of his chief." The document is reproduced on the preceding page. It contains no such evidence. The strange decision emanated from the military commissioner, whoever he was, at San Diego in 1823, as has been related some pages back. Nor does the document substantiate the statement of Bancroft, who says the supreme tribunal in Mexico decided that "in view of his two years' imprisonment in shackles he (Cañedo) was to be set free and made a corporal." Bancroft gives no authority whatever when recounting the punishment which Cañedo justly, if really, suffered, nor when mentioning the culprit's subsequent promotion. From the incident the reader may infer, however, that the missionaries had anything but a pleasant situation, and that apparently they did not enjoy the freedom even of their neophytes who might go whithersoever they pleased on a permit from the missionary in charge.

Owing to the disappearance or wholesale destruction of records

[7] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.
[8] *California*, vol. ii, p. 556.

at Mission San Juan Capistrano after the mission period, when for days bonfires were kept up with the piles of papers taken from the Mission in the absence of any priest, and owing to the loss of the Reports, very little has come down to us regarding mission activity during the early years of the third decade. The Mission was mulcted like the rest, but proofs are not so numerous as elsewhere. Still, not all evidence is lacking. The Mission was included, for instance, in the number of those from San Diego to Purisima which were called upon to contribute 90 *frezadas* (blankets) and 90 *sombreros* for the soldiers of Captain Portilla at San Diego, as Fr. Payéras communicated under date of March 2, 1822.[9]

Mission San Juan Capistrano also donated voluntarily to the traveling expenses of Governor Solá. The call came from Fr. Payéras under date of April 17, 1822. In the name of the Mission, Fr. Boscana contributed $200. The Mission was requested also to contribute 500 fanegas of corn and 120 fanegas of beans for the San Diego company under the command of J. M. Estudillo, who made the demand on June, 15, 1821. The Mission made the sacrifice, although, as previously stated, a drouth prevailed that year.[10]

It seems that Fr. Barona never fully recovered from the indignity and shock suffered at the time. The treatment was so unprecedented in California that it would have affected a man of much stronger constitution and of more robust health than Fr. Barona possessed. As early as 1817, he was broken in health and desired to retire from the missions. The shock from the public insult and the fall from the horse must have aggravated his weak condition. In the Baptismal Registers one can notice plainly that Fr. Barona's signature long after the occurrence was made with an unsteady hand. After 1827, he spent most of the time at San Luis Rey, if we may believe Bancroft. The fact is that after number 3,578, entered on October 8, 1816, he was either absent or allowed Fr. Boscana to do most of the baptizing. He lingered on, however, till August 4, 1831, on which day he breathed his last.

[9] *Arch. Arch.*, no. 1,368.

[10] *Archb. Arch.*, no. 1,369; 1,223.

On the 6, he was buried at San Juan Capistrano by Fr. Zalvidea, who had come to the Mission and baptized there for the first time on March 4, 1826. Fr. Barona's last signature is dated January 6, 1831. Fr. Boscana was transferred to Mission San Gabriel to take the place of Fr. Zalvidea, whose health was beginning to fail. His last signature appears under date of January 29, 1826.

In 1824, the politicians, who had succeeded in placing themselves in the government positions of Mexico, formed a new Constitution, in the making of which the great mass of people had nothing to say. Nevertheless, they demanded that all take an oath on it. In California, the missionaries were formally requested by Echeandia to take the oath of allegiance to the Constitution, although all had already taken the oath of the Independence of Mexico, and had promised to obey the government in all things that were not contrary to their conscience. This would have been enough for any reasonable government. So, when the new oath was proposed, the Fathers refused to take it, claiming that they had sworn once and that that was enough; oaths were no playthings, though it appeared so at the time. All promised to obey the dictates of the government as long as they were not contrary to God's law. This again should have been sufficient.

Although both missionaries at Mission San Juan Capistrano, Fathers Barona and Zalvidea, had taken the oath of the Independence of Mexico from Spain, they refused, like nearly all the Franciscans in California, to swear allegiance to the new Constitution of the Federal States of Mexico, adopted on October 4, 1824. In their reply to Echeandia's request, both Fathers, under date of June 12, 1826, wrote: "In reply to the official note addressed to us under date of June 5, 1826, demanding that we express ourselves regarding the decision of the Oath to uphold the Acta Constitutiva or Federal Constitution of the United Mexican States, sanctioned on October 4, 1824, we have to say that we are resolved to swear to keep the Acta Constitutiva or Federal Constitution in everything compatible with our religious profession and as long as we remain in the territory of the Mexican Federation." [11]

[11] *Archb. Arch.,* no. 1,830.

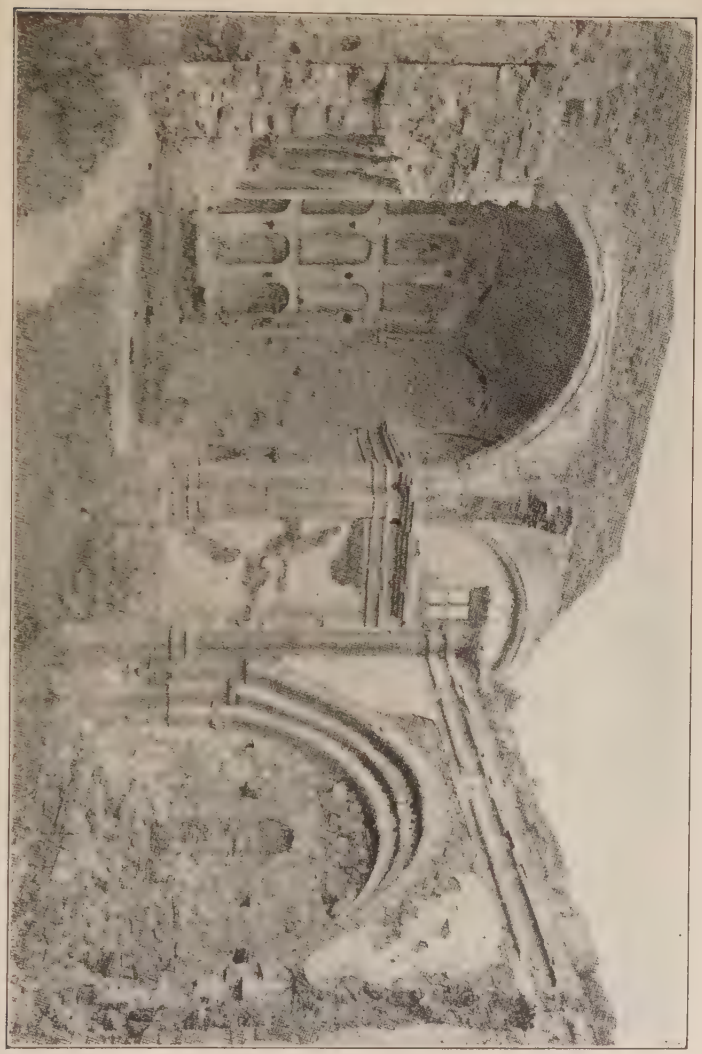
CHAPTER IX.

Governor Echeandia.—His Emancipation Scheme.—Consequences.—Indians Turbulent.—Decay Sets In.—Report on Lands of the Mission.—Floods.—Ranchos.—Live Stock.—Question of Indian Rights to Lands.—Spanish Law on Subject.

THE first native Mexican to become governor of California was José M. Echeandia. With his arrival at San Diego, in October, 1825, began a period of general discontent, at least among the Mission Indians. He belonged to a class of politicians who had emancipated themselves from the duties imposed by Christianity; who sought only themselves and, in consequence, rendered their countrymen in Mexico unhappy to the present day. The new governor was an avowed enemy of the Religious Orders and therefore unfriendly to their activity, no matter what field of human endeavor it might embrace. What especially displeased him, although it alone made life possible in California for the civil and military officials, was the mission system, as introduced and followed by the Franciscan missionaries. He recognized the impossibility of abolishing it immediately; but he was determined to make a beginning in that direction as soon as it would appear practicable.

At the first conference with the Fathers of the southern district, held on April 28, 1826, Echeandia broached his plan of emancipation of the Mission Indians. The experienced missionaries listened to his unwise scheme and then warned him to proceed slowly if he did not wish to invite disaster. Long before his appointment as governor, they had volunteered to withdraw in favor of the secular clergy; but, as the Bishop of Sonora, the Ordinary of the Diocese, declined to accept the charge, they remained at their post. Nevertheless, urged by "some prominent Californians who," as Bancroft declares, "had already had their eyes on the mission lands," [1] the governor insisted on carrying out his pernicious plan. On July 25, 1826, he issued his Proclamation of Emancipation. All the Indians within the military district of San Diego, Santa

[1] *History of California,* vol. iii, pp. 101-102.



STONE CHURCH AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE: SANCTUARY, ARCH, GLIMPSE OF TRANSEPT TO RIGHT.

Barbara, and Monterey, who were found qualified, should be free from mission tutelage and should become Mexican citizens. The missionaries were instructed to set free at first only those neophytes whom they thought capable of supporting themselves. With regard to those Indians who declined to be "freed" and wished to remain under missionary rule, they were no longer to be whipped in punishment for misdemeanors, save in the case of unmarried male neophytes under age, and these were not to receive more than fifteen blows in one week.

In virtue of this unwise and premature decree, an Indian who wished to leave his mission might apply to the commander of the nearest presidio. If the applicant had been a Christian from childhood or fifteen years, was married, or at least not a minor, and had some means of gaining a livelihood, and if the respective missionary's report on these points was favorable, the commander was to provide the Indian with a written permit through the missionary. This permit entitled the neophyte and his family to go whithersoever he pleased, and his name was erased from the Mission Padron or roll. All this sounded very plausible and just, and it might have been beneficial, had the Indians been less fickle and improvident; but, as yet they were to a great extent like overgrown school boys who still needed an overseer. Under such circumstances, to let them shift for themselves could end only in disaster, because the unruly and shiftless alone availed themselves of the liberty pictured to them as the height of earthly bliss.[2]

"The natural result of these movements in behalf of the Indians," says Hittell, an enemy of the missionaries, "was to make them restive and more or less disorderly."[3] Beechey, formerly often quoted for his unfriendliness to the Missions, writes that the neophytes fell into excesses, gambled away all their property, and found it necessary to beg or to steal.[4]

Nowhere did Echeandia's emancipation plan prove more disappointing to its author and more disastrous to the Indians than at Mission San Juan Capistrano. To this Mission, according to

[2] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 239-240.

[3] *History of California*, vol. ii, p. 92.

[4] *Voyage*, vol. ii, p. 320.

Alvarado and Vallejo—neither of them is reliable authority, but both are quoted by Bancroft[5]—Echeandia immediately after assuming office, sent Lieutenant Pacheco, who went so far as to assemble the neophytes and to make a political speech, telling them of a new chief (Echeandia, of course) who had come to the country to be their friend, and to secure them equal rights with the Spaniards.

Such language sounded mighty agreeable to the unwary younger neophytes. It explains how some of them could so soon forget their hereditary reverence for the missionaries and start a petty revolt. At all events, on January 22, 1826, not so very long after Pacheco's liberty talk, Corporal Hilário Machado reported that the Indians of Mission San Juan Capistrano had risen in rebellion, had insulted the corporal of the guard, and had declared that if he did not put the Father in the stocks when they gave the signal, they would put him also in the stocks. For this reason he had taken the necessary steps, but was hereby asking for help to quell the revolt.[6]

It is possible that Corporal Machado was unnecessarily frightened. Yet it would be strange if the ill treatment publicly inflicted by the soldiers on helpless Fr. Barona a few years previously should not have materially contributed to lessen in the more viciously inclined natives the respect they owed to the authority and dignity of the missionaries and of the soldiers as well. The fact is, and all contemporary writers and travelers admit it, the ideas instilled into the minds of the neophytes by the governor produced a great change in the Indians, and nowhere more so than at San Juan Capistrano, where the converts had heretofore been held up as models of industry, contentment, and reverence for the missionaries. The incessant military contributions, which the Fathers had to exact as though they were but government agents, naturally increased the general discontent; for this Mission, like the others, had now as before to contribute to the support of an idle and useless soldiery, as the reader will learn more in detail by consulting the writer's General History of

[5] *History of California,* vol. iii, p. 102.

[6] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap.,* vol. i, pp. 494-497.

THE LONG BUILDING AND OLIVE MILL.

the Missions. It is not surprising at all that the decay of the Mission progressed so rapidly; for laborers were wanting, Echeandia having encouraged all able-bodied men to assert their rights as freemen. The Annual Reports, these trustworthy thermometers of mission life in its various phases, show for the year 1827 a very marked falling off in the number of the neophytes at San Juan Capistrano. While at the close of December, 1826, the neophyte population numbered 1,043 souls—1,060 being the average since 1819—there were at the end of 1827, just a year later, only 956 Indians at the Mission. It was not in order to work and secure wages for themselves that so many left the Mission; they wanted to loaf at will, and this was hailed by the unruly as the privilege of a free man, of a citizen, such as they observed in the deportment of the *paisanos*, who were anything but conspicuous for industry or fondness for labor. Under such circumstances, to blame the missionaries, as some have done, for not keeping the buildings in repair, for not cultivating the fields, and for not taking proper care of the herds and flocks, spells either intellectual blindness or willful hostility.

Captain J. M. Estudillo had ample opportunity to learn the consequences of Echeandia's wild notions. Under date of April 25, 1827, he reported from San Diego to the Comandante General (Echeandia himself) that various robberies had been committed by the Indians; that the corporal of the guard at San Juan Capistrano complained of constant robberies perpetrated by the Indians, who through love for idleness refused to devote themselves to honest labor; that the Fathers were troubled for want of hands and asked for assistance to make the Indians obey; that if kindly begged to go to work, the Indians would say they are free.[7]

The territorial assembly of the so-called Californians furthermore began to manifest their power over the missionaries. On October 7, 1827, they issued a decree, signed by Echeandia, which directed that the missionaries transmit a detailed inventory of their lands, of the boundaries thereof, of the slaughter and branding of cattle, of the *rodeos* or round-ups, of titles to lands, etc.[8]

[7] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap.*, vol. ii, pp. 20-25.

[8] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, p. 241.

Recalling what was quoted as Bancroft's assertion a few pages back, the reader will readily see the drift of this demand. The *paisanos* at the helm were land-hungry, and were looking for a chance to sate their voracity on other people's property. However, like all the missionaries in California, the Fathers of San Juan Capistrano obeyed the assembly's instructions and forwarded to the governor the following lengthy, but most interesting, account of their Mission.

"Señor Comandante General:—Of the twenty Articles in the Proclamation published by your order at Monterey, on October 7, of the present year, and communicated to us missionaries by the Very Rev. Fr. Comisario Prefecto and by the Comandante of the Presidio of San Diego, only five apply to this Mission; namely Articles one, four, seven, eight, and nine; and these alone will be

CATTLE BRAND OF SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO MISSION.

treated by the missionaries here. The last three of these articles will find their close consideration in the manner, time, and terms prescribed by Your Honor.

"The fourth Article has two parts: the Mission Brand and the Mission Cattle. With regard to the first, the estampa, which is found on one of the two papers enclosed, will convince Your Honor that you have been obeyed in this matter. We assure you that this is the brand which this Mission uses and has used from the time of its founding. It is a copy such as must exist in the archives of Monterey. With regard to the second part, the number of cattle, you will find your orders likewise carried out on another paper which is also enclosed.

"The First Article is the most interesting. It comprises five

points, and because of its extent, we find it indispensably necessary to establish as a basis the following premises:

"There is in this Province no land surveyor whatever. The people, who in California call themselves *de razon,* are perhaps scarcely acquainted with the very name. There is not one who with certainty knows the distances. All calculate, as Your Honor has well observed, by a 'More or Less' than the distances are in reality. The Indian, although Indian, deceives himself or errs much less than the white folks, or *Gente de Razon.* For, if you ask an Indian, 'How far away, for instance, is the Rancho de las Flores from the Mission of San Luis Rey?' he will answer on the spot, *Quien sabe.* From this ignorance proceeds the impossibility of knowing with any certainty the extent of lands.

"An unequal space or, more properly speaking, an unequal cañon formed by the sea and the sierra comprises all the lands which the Mission of San Juan Capistrano actually enjoys. Its extent in length from northwest to southwest may be ten leagues. Its greatest width may be four leagues, but which narrows in places so that it measures barely half a league; this occurs toward the south. The greater portion of this land is useless on account of the mustard plant which abounds there. There is so much of it that it can not be destroyed by human means.

"However, the greatest damage experienced by the Mission is from floods. From floods? Yes, General, from floods. The floods it is that cause the damage; and they have done more damage than the mustard plant. Some of the floods come from the interior; others are from the sea and run across the surface of the land. The former are from the arroyos that serve for irrigating the land. One of these is called Arroyo de Trabuco, because it comes from a hill which bears that name. The other is the Arroyo de la Mision Vieja, because it originates there. The waters from the sea communicate their salt to the soil near by for a distance of ten leagues in the direction from west-northwest to east-southeast, approximately. Hence all these lands are saliferous and consequently unserviceable.

"Will it be believed that the two arroyos and their waters are unquestionably greater enemies of this unfortunate Mission than

the mustard plant and the waters of the sea? but such they are in effect. When there are no rains the arroyos run dry. In that case, the little land now cultivated can not be irrigated; but, what is worse, the herds die of thirst, as has happened the last five or six years in which, on account of the extraordinary drouth, all the sheep and many head of cattle perished.

"The floods from these arroyos are very destructive; for, when there is snow in the mountains, the sun melts it, and the rains increase the flow; then the arroyos become rivers, which leave their bed, form other currents, and on receding leave nothing but stones and sand on the land, as the Indians, the missionaries, and all passers-by observe with tears in their eyes and pain in their hearts.

"Considering this and how much the Indians suffered, for in addition to the said plagues, such we must call them, the Mission finds itself despoiled of very good lands which legitimately belong to it, as will be shown presently, the Fathers have thought of working the principal fields in the region where their cattle graze, which is near the Rio Santa Ana. There, where now the fields for grain are, and where now some grain is secured, is the place where without the least doubt the Government of this Province will within a short time see itself compelled to order the Mission of San Juan Capistrano to be transferred; because, in addition to the grievances mentioned, there is here a most serious inconvenience in the lack of firewood, even for the most necessary use of the house and of the rancheria. Yet, water and wood, the whole world knows, are of prime necessity.

"After these premises as to facts which are constant, evident, manifest, and certain, the missionaries pass on to reply to the demands of what is further asked in Article One.

"To the southeast, the Mission has the Rancho of San Mateo, distant three leagues, a little more or less. About half a league from the said rancho, the Mission of San Luis Rey has placed the Rancho of San Onófrio in the same direction. This occupies about three leagues of valley and hills; but all these lands, which are good, belong to San Juan Capistrano, inasmuch as all the Indians of that district have been born there. Nevertheless, the said Mission of San Luis Rey has taken possession of that whole

district. From what has been said, there remains the Rancho of San Mateo adjacent to the usurped lands and likewise to the Rancho of Las Flores of the Mission San Luis Rey.

"Toward the north, is the Hill of Trabuco. The Mission possesses the land which lies from here to there and which may be two leagues a little more or less. All the land that is on the other side of said Cerro de Trabuco, toward the east, are the lands of Mission San Juan Capistrano. These all legitimately belong to it, because more than 500 Indians of said Mission have been born in those places. Notwithstanding the close proximity to the Mission of San Juan Capistrano, said Mission of San Luis Rey has taken possession also of that stretch of land and has placed there a rancho named San Jacinto; but not only that Mission, also its mayordomo, Leandro Serrano, has established a rancho there under the name Temescal.[9]

"Toward the south, there is scarcely half a league from the sea to the immediate sierra, and the soil is almost useless, because saliferous.

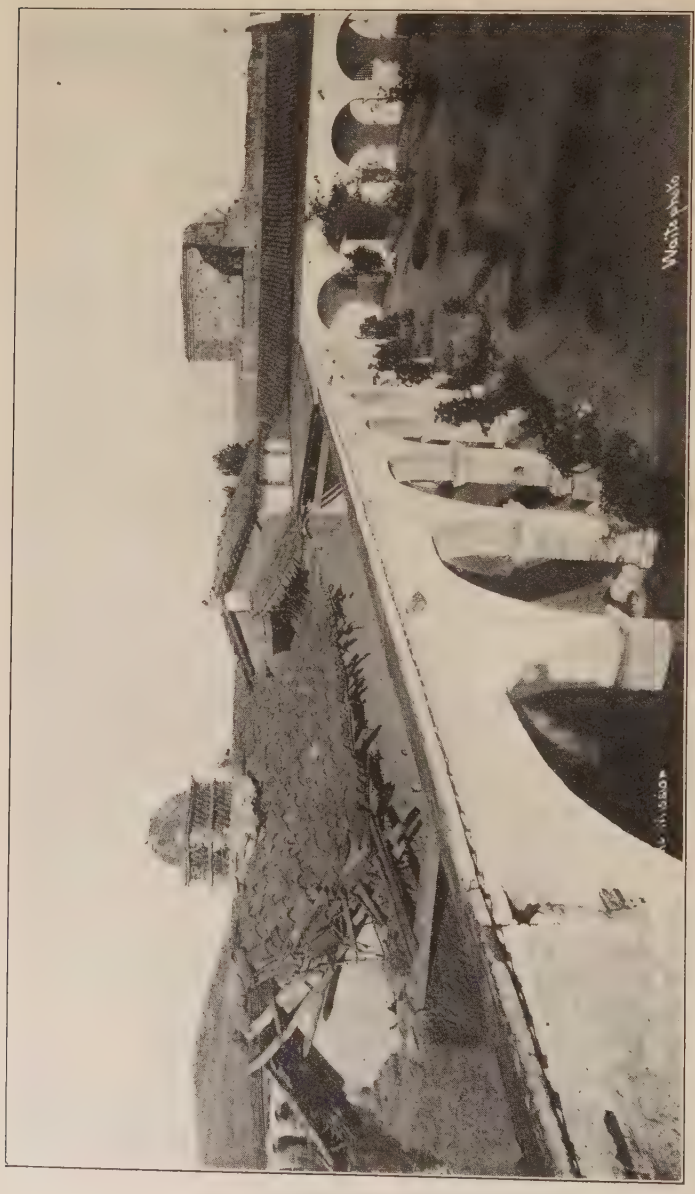
"In the direction between the north and the west coming out of the cañadas and hills, this Mission has a plain, and in it is situated the *estáncia* (station) of Santa Ana, on the bank of the river of the same name. Similarly, on the other side of the same river, it possesses a stretch of land where for more than thirty years the cattle grazed. Now it has to sow the grain there. From the *estáncia* to the Mission they count six leagues. On the bank of the same river, toward the east (levante) is the Rancho of the Yorbas, adjacent to which in said direction are the lands of the Mission.

"The field which is found on the other side of the river may be five leagues in circumference, and adjoins the lands of the Nietos and those of Mission San Gabriel.

"The Mission possesses no *tierra de temporal* whatever; it also lacks timber land.

"In the Laguna and in the Ciénega, which are on the road from this Mission to the said estáncia of Santa Ana, the herds water as

[9] Bancroft, *History of California,* vol. v, 717.



ROOF OF THE POZOLERA OR COMMUNITY KITCHEN BEFORE RESTORATION. FRONT WING. GLIMPSE OF CHURCH IN BACKGROUND.

also in the river of the same name. These are their watering places. The two arroyos of Trabuco and Mission Vieja supply water, when they have any, for the few herds which the Mission has near by, as also for the needs of the Mission.

"In compliance with the orders of Your Honor, the missionaries of Mission San Juan Capistrano have given an account of the lands it occupies and possesses at present and of its neighbors; of the land irrigated; of the fact that it has no *tierra de temporal;* of the watering places; of the arroyos; of other waters, which irrigate its fields; and of the lack of timber land; likewise, of the cattle and sheep, which it has in the present year; and of the collection of cattle brands, which it uses and has used from its foundation. If this account should meet the approbation of Your Honor, the missionaries will rejoice that your satisfaction is complete. However, if it should displease Your Honor, they hope that in consideration of their lack of talent, pressure of time, and the terrible worries in which their spirits are now engulfed, on account of the most dire pest (por la cruelisima peste) that is raging here, Your Honor will pardon their mistakes.

"The obstacles and difficulties mentioned before would compel the missionaries to conclude and sign their name; but as the subject under consideration is the land; and as at this day no one is regarded *de razon* in Upper California, who does not claim or covet some; and as in the Junta Provisional there was no person whatever who *represented the Indians* and who, as their protector and attorney, would have stood up before Your Honor and defended their rights; and as in addition to these potent reasons it is public and notorious and more than plain to the missionaries that the governor who now fortunately rules the Province desires nothing more and with greater anxiety than that information be communicated to him in order that he may be in a better position to take wise steps; therefore, the said missionaries have the well-meant boldness to continue and to recommend to Your Honor for the benefit of the Indians the following considerations:

"Let us pass over in silence, although it would never do harm but prove rather advantageous to consider, that all these lands did belong and do belong to the Indians. On these lands they

were born, and on them were born likewise all their fathers and all their forefathers. If we credit the Prophet Esdras, (iv, 13; v. 39), these Indians were the first to inhabit them. From here, without doubt, they passed on and kept multiplying as fast as Patagonia.[10] Hence our Indians descend from them. Hence these lands are theirs. Letting this pass, however, we proceed to justify the Indian's claims as follows:

"1. It has been decreed in the Spanish law (Ley 9, Tit. 12, Libro 4, R. 4) that the *estáncias* and lands, which are granted to the Spaniards, be not to the prejudice of the Indians, and that those that have been granted to their prejudice and detriment, be returned to those to whom they of right belong.

"2. It has been decreed (Ley 18. Ejusdem Tit. et Lib.) that all sales, proceeds, compacts regarding lands shall always observe that to the Indians must remain generously all that is coming to them in particular and in common or community; that water and irrigation as also the lands on which *acéquias* (water-ditches) or any other improvements have been made or which in any way have been rendered fertile through the personal industry of the Indians, should in the first place be reserved for them and under no circumstances may these be sold or alienated.

"3. It has been commanded (Ley 7, Tit. Ejusdem Lib.) that the distribution of the lands, in new settlements as well as in places and regions previously founded, be made with all justice, without admitting exceptions, and without any aggravation to the Indians.

"4. It has been commanded (Ley 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; Tit. 3. Lib. 6) that all the Indians should be gathered in settlements; that the ecclesiastical judges should facilitate everything for them and aid them; that those, who would impede them should be chastized; that in every settlement there be a church, a priest, etc., as has been done when the Missions of the Sierra Gorda were secularized, which were formerly in charge of the College of San Fernando de Mexico.

"5. It has been commanded (Ley 8, Ejusdem) that in those

[10] The two Fathers pursue this subject at some length.

places where settlements (pueblos) are to be established and reductions founded, they should have the commodity of water, lands, mountains, entrances and exits, farms, and a commons, one league in length. By a Royal Cedula, a copy of which is in the hands of the Very Rev. Fr. Comisario Prefecto Fr. Vicente de Sarría, it is decreed that the league for the commons must be understood as meaning in every direction; hence, that every commons must be four leagues square.

"6. It has been commanded (Ley 20, Ejusdem) that no ranch or estancia for cattle be placed within a league and a half of the Old Missions; and for the sheep, half a league; and that in the Missions which are to be established anew the boundaries should be twice as much (dos veces tanto); hence it is inferred that to the said new foundations or Missions there must be assigned three leagues of land for their grain fields etc., and that these together with the four leagues for the commons will be seven leagues.

"7. It has been commanded (Ley 9, Ejusdem) that the Indian converts shall not be deprived of the lands which they possessed previously; that in this matter no innovations should be made; but that it should be conserved for them as it (the land) had been held before, in order that the Indians cultivate it and enjoy the advantages of it.

"8: It has been commanded (Ley 46, Tit. 6, Lib. 1) that every *Doctrina, Reduccion, ó Pueblo,* which are all the same thing (que todo es lo mismo) must not exceed four hundred Indians; and therefore, when reducing those of this California to pueblo life, as the Supreme Federative Congress desires, and as the missionaries are beseeching God with more ardor may be accomplished as soon as possible, in that case, inasmuch as the Indian population of this Mission exceeds one thousand, there must be organized from these thousand two *doctrinas,* and to each of them must be assigned seven leagues.

In conclusion, the missionaries of San Juan Capistrano remind Your Honor that, although the rights set forth are from the *Recopilacion Indiana,* these laws are not abrogated by the Supreme Federative Congress; rather is it to be believed, owing to the many privileges and favors it bestows on the Indians, that it will

conserve and even amplify those privileges.—Mission San Juan Capistrano, December 22, 1827. Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea, Fr. Josef Barona." [11]

In their straight-forward simplicity, the Fathers made proposals which diametrically crossed the schemes of the governor and of his assembly. Neither Echeandia nor his law-makers had any intention of conserving the lands of the Missions for their rightful owners—the Indians. He planned to "secularize" the Missions at the first opportunity, but not in the sense that the Missions in Mexico and elsewhere had previously and quite properly been secularized under Spanish dominion. The Sierra Gorda Missions, for instance, where Fathers Serra, Palóu, and Lasuén had labored among the Indians, were secularized, i.e., were turned over to secular priests, while the lands were surrendered to the Indian converts. This had been done in order that those friars might undertake the conversion of the Indians in California, and also because the converts of those Missions were at the time thought capable of managing their own affairs. The California legislators and their governor, on the other hand, aimed at confiscating the Indian property, save a pittance doled out to the neophytes, which property they distributed to political friends and to their relatives. The Indians were then left to shift for themselves as well as they might. Of course, the brutal project was not stated in so many words. The term "secularization" was employed to cover the black design and was thereby given a meaning it never before possessed.

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[11] *Sta. Barb. Arch.—Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. v, pp. 209-217.

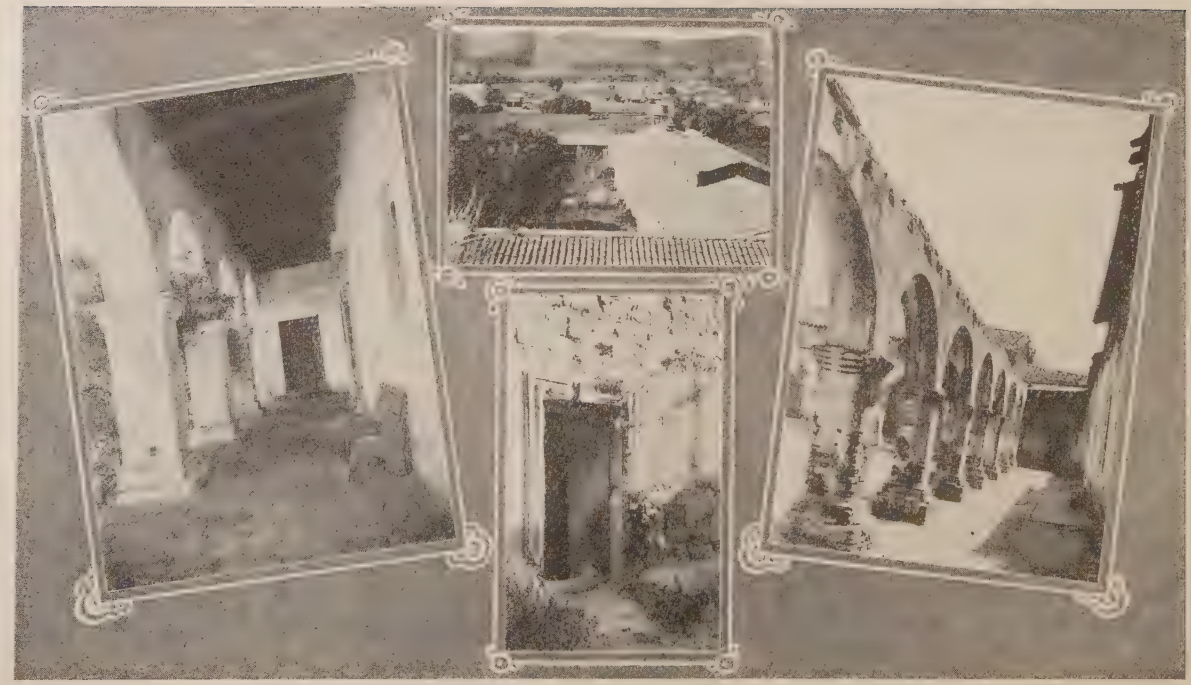
CHAPTER X.

Alfred Robinson's Visit.—Pattie's Alleged Visit.—Richard Dana's Visit and Description.

IN 1829 Mission San Juan Capistrano was favored with a visit from Albert Robinson, the author of *Life in California*. He had stopped over night at San Luis Rey; and, as was the custom of all the missionaries, the next morning Fr. Antonio Peyri had free of charges provided him and his companion with fresh horses, a guide, and provisions for the journey to the next Mission. Beyond Las Flores the travelers stopped at a stream. "The guide was directed," Robinson writes, "to prepare a little repast, which he soon brought, wrapped in a nice white napkin, which, opening, was spread out on the grass and exposed to view the following: One boiled chicken, one smoked beef tongue, half a dozen hard-boiled eggs, a loaf of bread, small cheese, a bottle of wine, and a little paper of salt and pepper. This comprised the preparation which the good old Father had made for their comfort, but this was no more than he usually did for all strangers who, like them, partook of his hospitality. Having finished their sumptuous entertainment, they lighted their cigars and turned over what was left of the refreshments to the guide, and when he had finished, they mounted their horses and set off again to complete their journey for the day, now taking the smooth, sand beach, which extended seven or eight miles, a smooth, hard beach, with not a rock to be seen, over which they rapidly galloped, until finally they reached the point where they struck off inland again, and after a short ride over two or three hills, at length from the top of the last one they saw before them the lonely, dilapidated Mission of San Juan Capistrano,[1] once the grandest structure of the kind in California.

"Several straggling Indian boys were seen about the gates, and

[1] The reader, if familiar with the road, will easily recognize the course taken by Robinson in 1829.



CORRIDOR ALONG THE PRESENT CHAPEL. DOORWAY TO THE VESTRY OF THE STONE CHURCH. VIEW ACROSS THE FRONT WING. CORRIDOR IN THE REAR BEFORE RESTORATION.

two or three approached as we alighted; they said nothing, but stood gazing at the great staring eyes of friend G . . . ., which were considerably magnified through the spectacles he wore, till at last a sudden light seemed to break upon their dull comprehension, and, with a cry of 'Cuatro ojos, cuatro ojos,' (four eyes) they darted away.

"They (the travelers) soon reached the entrance to the building. The two Rev. Fathers, who controlled the interests of the establishment, were rather advanced in years, and as a general thing kept themselves quietly within their own apartments. A corpulent old man received us at the door, who bade us welcome. It was the superintendent (mayor-domo) of the Mission, who, superannuated as he seemed, yet from long experience in the situation, was still capable of fulfilling the duties of his office. He gave us a room within the square, where we proceeded to take possession, and found the furniture, like the building, fast tumbling to decay. It being yet early in the afternoon, they had time to walk around a little, though there was not a great deal to expatiate upon. There was the old stone church, which, from its appearance, must have been originally the finest structure of its kind in California, before it was destroyed by an earthquake in 1812, when many Indians were buried in its fall. It still bears the appearance of having been one of the best finished structures of the country, and the workmanship displayed in the sculpture upon its walls and its vaulted roof would command admiration in our own country.

"The arrangement of the Mission of San Juan is similar to that of St. Luis (San Luis Rey); in fact, all these establishments are formed upon the same plan, and much resemble each other, varying only in their extent and population. In many of the villages the residences consist of straw huts of an oval form, which, when decayed, the Indians set on fire and erect new ones—here, however, they are built of unburnt brick, tiled and whitewashed, forming five or six blocks, or streets, which present a neat and comfortable appearance. The whole appearance of the institution still shows that it must have been more perfect than any of the other of its kind. Like all the Missions, it had

its gardens and outhouses for the Indians, though but few of the natives were seen about the premises. The day closed in, when they (the travelers) returned to their rooms, to wear away an hour or so until supper time. At length the chimes of the church bells proclaimed the hour, and they hurried into the supper room, where we saw the padres, who were then seated at the table, unconscious of our approach till announced by the old mayordomo. Immediately they rose, embraced us, and welcomed us to their hospitable board. Although aged in appearance, they made themselves as agreeable as one could desire. They appeared to be very conversant in worldly matters, and were very much interested in everything appertaining to European affairs. Whilst conversing they smoked their *cigarritos,* and kept up the conversation for at least an hour after the supper was over, when they retired to their sleeping-apartments, and took leave of the travellers, who were to start early in the morning and who retired to their apartments also. Arrangements, however, had been made for means of conveyance to the next Mission, and, as contemplated, the next morning they started with fresh horses and their new guides for the Mission of San Gabriel." [2]

Another traveler claims to have visited the Mission of San Juan Capistrano in February, 1829. No one of that period, however, knows anything about his appearance at the Mission, much less about what he asserts to have seen and done there. This traveler was James O. Pattie. In his *Personal Narrative,* written from memory and printed in Cincinnati in 1833, has this to tell a wondering world: "The next Mission on my way (from San Luis Rey) was that of St. John the Baptist(!) The mountains here approach so near the ocean, as to leave only room enough for the location of the mission(!) The waves dash upon the shore immediately in front of it(!) The priest, who presides over this mission, was in the habit of indulging his love of wine and stronger liquors to such a degree, as to be often intoxicated(!) The church had been shattered by an earthquake. Between twenty and thirty of the Indians, men, women, and children, had been suddenly de-

[2] *Life in California,* pp. 39-42 and 269-271, passim.

stroyed by the falling of the church bells upon them. After communicating the vaccine matter to 600 natives, I left this place, where the mountains rose behind to shelter it; and the sea stretched out its boundless expanse before it." [3]

If any one familiar with the Mission of San Juan Capistrano, its history and location, can recognize it from the description Pattie presents, he must have a strong imagination. Only the statement that the church had been shattered by an earthquake is correct. Everything else, especially the charge against the priest, who was Fr. Barona, then sixty-five years of age and near death's door, as also the claim that 600 Indians had been vaccinated, must have been penned under the influence of the juice that made Pattie's home State—Kentucky—famous. For more details regarding him, the reader is referred to our narrative on San Diego and on San Luis Rey.

The observations of a truthful traveler, whose name is familiar with Californians, may as well be noted right here, although it was six years after Robinson that he visited Mission San Juan Capistrano. From him we obtain a glimpse of the business side of the Mission. In his delightful book *Two Years Before the Mast,* the author, Richard Henry Dana, describes his impressions and experiences as follows:

"San Juan is the only romantic spot on the coast. The country here for several miles is high table-land, running boldly to the shore, and breaking off in a steep cliff, at the foot of which the waters of the Pacific are constantly dashing. For several miles the water washes the very base of the hill, or breaks upon ledges and fragments of rocks which run out into the sea. Just where we landed was a small cove, or bight, which gave us, at high tide, a few square feet of sand-beach between the sea and the bottom of the hill. This was the only landing-place. Directly before us rose the perpendicular height of four or five hundred feet.[4] How we were to get the hides down, or the goods up, upon the table-land on which the Mission was situated, was more than we could tell. The agent had taken a long circuit, and yet he had fre-

[3] *Personal Narrative,* p. 214.

[4] Not more than 280 feet, according to Davidson's *Pilot.*

REV. ST. JOHN O'SULLIVAN IN THE COURTYARD BETWEEN CHAPEL AND TEMPORARY VESTRY.

quently to jump over breaks, and climb steep places, in the ascent. No animal but a man or monkey could get up it . . . Knowing that the agent would be gone an hour or more, we strolled about, picking up shells, and following the sea where it tumbled in, roaring and spouting, among the crevices of the great rocks . . . . I separated myself from the rest, sat down on a rock, just where the sea ran in and formed a fine spouting horn. Compared with the plain, dull sand-beach of the rest of the coast, this grandeur was as refreshing as a great rock in a weary land. . . . Nearly an hour did I sit, almost lost in the luxury of this entire new scene of the play in which I had been so long acting, when I was aroused by the distant shouts of my companions, and saw that they were collecting together, as the agent had made his appearance, on his way back to the boat.

"We pulled aboard, and found the long-boat hoisted out, and nearly laden with goods; and after dinner, we all went on shore in the quarter-boat, with the long-boat in tow. As we drew in, we descried an ox-cart and a couple of men standing directly on the brow of the hill; and having landed, the captain took his way around the hill, ordering me and one other to follow him. We followed, picking our way out, and jumping and scrambling up, walking over briars and prickly pears, until we came to the top. Here the country stretched out for miles, as far as the eye could reach, on a level, table surface, and the only habitation in sight was the small white mission of San Juan Capistrano, with a few Indian huts about it, standing in a small hollow, about a mile from where we were. Reaching the brow of the hill, where the cart stood, we found several piles of hides, and Indians sitting round them. One or two of the carts were coming slowly on from the Mission, and the captain told us to begin and throw the hides down. This, then, was the way they were to be got down—thrown down, one at a time, a distance of four hundred (280) feet! This was doing business on a great scale. Standing on the edge of the hill, and looking down the perpendicular height, the sailors

> 'That walked upon the beach
> Appeared like mice; and our tall anchoring bark
> Diminished to her cock; her cock a buoy
> Almost too small for sight.'

"Down this height we pitched the hides, throwing them as far out into the air as we could; and as they were all large, stiff, and doubled, like the cover of a book, the wind took them, and they swayed eddied about, plunging and rising in the air, like a kite when it has broken its string. As it was now low tide, there was no danger of their falling into the water; and as fast as they came to the ground, the men below picked them up, and, taking them on their heads, walked off with them to the boat. It was really a picturesque sight; the great height, the scaling of the hides, and the continual walking to and fro of the men, who looked like mites, on the beach. This was the romance of hide droghing! . . . . .

"Having thrown them all over, we took our way back again, and found the boat loaded and ready to start. We pulled off, took the hides all aboard, hoisted in the boat, hove up our anchor, made sail, and before sundown were on our way to San Diego." [5]

A writer in the *Los Angeles Times,* [6] George Gladden, believes he has identified the sand beach and the hill from which Dana helped to throw the hides. According to him "the hides were not thrown from the cliffs of San Juan Point, but probably from the edge of the bluff overlooking the crescent-shaped beach." The map, made long after on the spot by a cousin of Dana, "shows San Juan Point and Dana's Bay—or Dana Cove, as it is now officially designated."

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[5] *Two Years Before The Mast,* pp. 158-161.

[6] *Magazine Section,* August 5, 1916.

CHAPTER XI.

Fr. Zalvidea and Fr. Boscana Exchange Places.—Bancroft's Malice.—Death of Fr. Barona.—Bancroft's Ignorance.—Fr. Zalvidea's Pathetic Letter.—Change of Governors.—Echeandia's Trickery.—He Lords It Over the South.—Fr. Zalvidea's Reply to Echeandia.

UNDER date of March 20, 1829, the Mexican Government issued a decree declaring that all Spaniards residing in California, New Mexico, and other northern territories were to leave the country within one month and the republic within three months after the promulgation of the law; but, on June 30, 1829, Echeandia pleaded with the government. "By all means," he wrote, "Fathers Peiri, Jayme, Barona (of San Juan Capistrano), and Suñer should stay along with the others for whom I ask this permission on account of their age, infirmities, and virtue."[1] Yet, a week later, on July 6, the governor published the iniquitous measure in California. As no substitutes for the missionaries could be secured in Mexico, the Fathers generally were allowed to remain.

In February, 1826, Fr. Zalvidea of San Gabriel and Fr. Boscana of San Juan Capistrano exchanged places, as the former had begun to ail and the work at San Juan Capistrano was less strenuous than at San Gabriel with the disagreeable *paroquia* of Los Angeles. Fr. Boscana at the age of fifty appears to have as yet enjoyed good health, and he was, therefore, deemed better able to cope with the difficulties at San Gabriel. Bancroft scented some other cause for the change. He writes: "There is some slight evidence that Boscana had been removed in consequence of irregularities with women."[2] For this terrible assertion he gives no authority whatever; nor does the reference to the *California Archives* regarding Indian troubles mention Fr. Boscana. Furthermore, as the statement immediately follows Pattie's lying charge against Fr. Barona, Bancroft leaves his readers under the im-

[1] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, pp. 272-274.

[2] *History of California,* vol. iii, p. 556.

pression that both accusations concern Fr. Boscana who, at the time of Pattie's supposed visit, had not been at San Juan Capistrano for the previous three years. This goes to show how eager Bancroft was to besmirch the character of a missionary. His "some slight evidence" which should have been reproduced for what it was worth, has in this case no basis whatever. Fr. Boscana's last entry in the Burial Register is dated February 4, 1826, while Fr. Zalvidea's first entry in the same Register was made on March 4, 1826.

Fr. Barona still continued in charge of San Juan Capistrano; but, as Bancorft says, he spent most of his time at San Luis Rey as an invalid. His last entry in the Burial Register was made with a trembling hand, which shows that he was indeed very feeble at the time; it is dated October 14, 1830. His last Baptism was administered on January 6, 1831. After that he seems to have been wholly incapacitated. Finally, on August 4, 1831, he passed to his eternal reward, leaving Fr. Zalvidea alone at the Mission.

Though once so energetic and successful at San Gabriel, Fr. Zalvidea was now in ill health and naturally loathed the management of the temporal affairs of the Indian community. He would gladly have availed himself of the opportunity offered by Echeandia's plan to let the Indians manage everything as they pleased. This seems to have been safe enough from one point of view, inasmuch as apparently little or no wine was pressed at this Mission, notwithstanding Pattie's slanderous fling at Fr. Barona. In 1832, for instance, there was not enough wine for holy Mass, for, on September 12, 1832, according to Bancroft, Fr. Zalvidea sent "a keg to San Lius Rey to be filled with consecrated (!!!) wine, that of San Juan having soured."[3] Incidentally, Bancroft and his scribes here manifest their shocking ignorance of Catholic worship. The rabid prohibitionists of our day must entertain some such absurd notions about holy Mass, otherwise it is inconceivable why they should want to have the use of one to two tablespoons of grape wine prohibited for altar purposes.

[3] *California,* vol. iii. p. 626.

The state of Fr. Zalvidea's health may be inferred from a letter written by him to Fr. Durán in 1831, and which reads as follows:

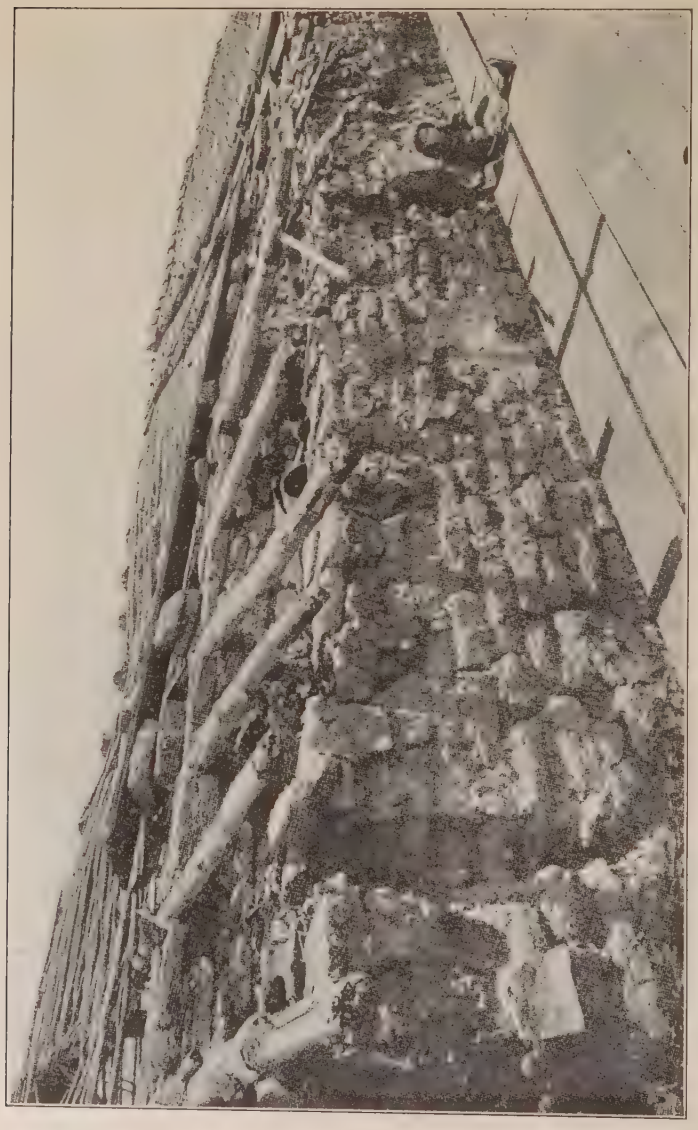
"Blessed be Jesus, Mary, and Joseph!

Mission San Juan Capistrano, July 6, 1831. Rev. Fr. Presidente, Fr. Narciso Duran, "My very much venerated and esteemed Prelate:—In virtue of the order which bids us to do so, I offer with all candor and sincerity the following statement. My whole constitution for years is attacked and dominated by asthma, constriction of the breast and of the lungs. I have consulted medical men on what manner of living I should observe. Among other instructions they told me that the climate in the north is harmful to me. Likewise, they advised that I should wear shoes, and that the tunic about the part of the lungs should be of linen cloth. With the permission of former prelates, I have been wearing them. Now I again ask Your Reverence for the necessary permission to use the shoes and the linen named. As for my person, I place myself at your disposition and under your obedience, and remain your least brother and subject, Q. B. S. M.—Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea.

P.D.—Since the beginning of the month of March, my companion, Fr. José Barona, is confined to his bed. His infirmity is debility of the nerves. He has received the holy Viaticum. Since the month of March, he has not celebrated, nor could he even attend the holy Sacrifice of the Mass." [4]

On March 8, 1830, Lieutenant Colonel Manuel Victoria was appointed governor of Upper California. This was a heavy blow to the schemes of Echeandia and of his young Californians who coveted the property of the Missions. Victoria expected Echeandia to surrender his office at San Diego in November or December, 1830. Instead, the wily ex-governor hastened on to Monterey; and from there, on January 6, 1831, to the amazement of his successor who was already in the country, he issued a decree for the confiscation of the Missions, but employing in it the specious term "secularization." Victoria had just reached Santa Barbara when

[4] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.



FR. SERRA'S CHURCH BEFORE RESTORATION BY THE LANDMARK CLUB.

the messenger arrived who had been sent to publish the unlawful decree in the missions south of San Fernando. Victoria at once annulled the decree and hastened to take possession of the office of governor at Monterey, which he did on January 31, 1831.[5]

On February 1, 1831, the new governor issued a proclamation declaring that the "secularization" decree was suspended because it was not in accordance with the will of the Supreme Government. This exasperated Echeandia and his beardless clique so thoroughly that, under various pretexts, they organized a revolt which resulted in the banishment of the devoted Victoria.

Victoria departed for Mexico in January, 1832. Thereupon, Echeandia and Agustin Zamorano claimed the office of governor. In order to avoid bloodshed, they agreed that until the arrival of the appointee from Mexico, Echeandia should rule the southern part of the territory, from San Fernando exclusive to the border south of San Diego. Thus San Juan Capistrano had the misfortune to come under the dictation of Echeandia, the worst enemy of the missions, who lorded it over them and their helpless missionaries with a singular high-handedness. In order to maintain himself, he called to his standard and armed neophytes who were foolish enough to credit his blustering talk about liberty and independence. At the same time, according to Robinson, "Echeandia and his party were draining San Juan Capistrano and the Mission of San Luis Rey of their possessions. Daily reports were received of robberies and murders committed by Indians of San Diego. Stabbings were frequent at San Juan Capistrano and San Luis Rey; and the drunken Indian, as he staggered along from the scene of debauch ejaculated, '*Soy libre!—I am free!*'"[6] Such were some of the effects of Echeandia's system.

At last, on the arrival of José Figueroa, Janury 15, 1833, who had been appointed by the Mexican Government, California and the poor Mission of San Juan Capistrano were relieved of Echeandia's baneful presence. "He had great difficulty in collecting," says Vallejo, "by the aid of the Padres of San Luis Rey and Capi-

[5] For details on Echeandia's illegal proceedings see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, pp. 346-354.

[6] *Life in California*, p. 135.

UPPER ROW: FRONT CORRIDOR LOOKING WEST. FATHER O'SULLIVAN. FRONT CORRIDOR LOOKING EAST.

LOWER ROW: REAR CORRIDOR. BAPTISMAL FONT AND GLORIA WHEEL. CHIMNEY OF THE POZOLERA.

strano the sum of $3000 which he needed to return to Mexico."[7] Mariano Vallejo is such an inveterate prevaricator, however, that nothing he says can be accepted as true unless it is corroborated by other evidence. We think he confounded this contribution with the one made in behalf of Governor Solá, in 1822. If Echeandia, indeed, "collected" $3000 from the already exhausted two missions, one may guess the plight of the poor neophytes and their missionaries. The Fathers make no mention of such a contribution. Nevertheless, it might have been obtained from them under compulsion. Much of the historical material concerning these Missions of San Juan Capistrano and San Luis Rey was willfully destroyed.

Before the ex-governor's final disappearance, Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea, then alone at San Juan Capistrano, on December 3, 1832, addressed the following letter to Echeandia, which sets forth the Father's extraordinary guilelessness and simplicity. It seems to be a reply to Echeandia's *Bando*, which had been published on November 18, 1832, and addressed to the Fathers of the four southern Missions, and which was his last attempt at embarassing the missionaries and ruining the mission system. It seems Echeandia had accompanied the copy of the *Bando* sent to Fr. Zalvidea with a personal letter dated a few days before. The Father may have also misread the dates. At all events, his reply reads:

"I received your esteemed letter of the twelfth of last month. Although ill and burdened with so many sick, I make use of the spare moments left me to say that I desire nothing more than to be relieved of the temporal government of the Indians, because it has become very repugnant to us, and because I see the *racional* of Your Honor's plan, which should have been put into practice long ago, according to the plan and the orders of the Córtes of Spain. It is very advantageous to us missionaries personally. I served and managed the temporal and the spiritual affairs of Mission San Gabriel for twenty-one years. Yet, after putting in all the stipends (annual allowance) as well as the money received

[7] See *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iii, p. 471.

as alms for the celebration of holy Masses, I left everything for the benefit of that community, and have not taken away as much as a half *reál*. We are sons of obedience and, since we have been instructed by our Superiors that all orders and regulations of the civil and political government should come through the Superiors, I forwarded the Plan, which Your Honor had the kindness to communicate to me, to the Fr. Presidente." [8]

The Father approved Echeandia's project in so far as it agreed with the plan of the Córtes of September 13, 1813, which was acceptable to all the missionaries, although they deemed it premature in California; but the simple Fr. Zalvidea failed to detect the trick in Echeandia's scheme, who cared naught for the welfare of the neophytes, but sought to gratify the greed of young Californians whom the decree against the foreign-born Spaniards had waved to the surface. Echeandia must have squirmed when the Fathers in their report on the Mission lands referred to his ardent desire to benefit the neophytes.

Of course, Echeandia had no authority to issue the *Bando;* but he desired to compel his successor to commit himself to the work of mission destruction, which the plan really intended. Figueroa simply put it aside, at least for the time being; and that ended Echeandia's machinations in California, machinations which had been disastrous especially at Mission San Juan Capistrano, as will yet appear in the course of the narrative. Before departing, Echeandia endeavored to prejudice his successor against the missionaries of the four Missions which he had tyrannized. In a letter to Figueroa, dated March 19, 1833, in which he endeavored to justify his hostility to the missions, the ex-governor wrote: "The conduct which the said missionaries of these four Missions have manifested and are manifesting, with the exception of Fr. Zalvidea, is the most vicious and reprehensible. Padre Sanchez, missionary of San Gabriel, died a few days ago, and in his place they have put Fr. Oliva, a subject of the king of Spain." The terms "most vicious and reprehensible" shows the animus of the discharged governor; for Fr. José Sanchez especially was a worthy missionary.

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[8] *The Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, pp. 419-420.

CHAPTER XII.

Governor Figueroa's Emancipation Plan.—Indians Unwilling.—Lands Apportioned.—Bancroft's Statement.—Decree of Confiscation.—Inventory.—Fr. Zalvidea Defended by Fr. Durán.—Poverty of the Mission.

GOVERNOR FIGUEROA visited the southern Mission district in July, 1833. The purpose of his visit was to divide some of the mission lands among the neophytes and to give the natives their liberty; but the Indians prized the liberty very little which did not secure for them absolute possession of the property, of the lands and herds, so that they might dispose of them as they desired. They could find little that was attractive in pueblo life under authority, in a living that had to be earned, in having fields that must be tilled, and in possessing cattle that could not be bartered. Although the governor harangued the assembled neophytes and explained to them the advantages of the proffered liberty, he failed to arouse, at San Diego and at San Luis Rey, any enthusiasm for his plan. The natives let him understand that they were quite content to remain under the direction of the Fathers. This proves that the convert Indians had received fair and kindly treatment from the missionaries, otherwise it is incomprehensible why they did not quickly grasp the chance to be free to go wherever they pleased.

Despite the fact that he met with so little encouragement from the neophytes of these two southern missions, Figueroa determined to try the plan of "emancipation" on a larger scale at Mission San Juan Capistrano. He must have passed through the Mission, although nothing could be ascertained as to his presence there. Early in 1833, Echeandia had appointed *comisionados* for the emancipation of the Indians, and for San Juan Capistrano had named Ensign Juan José Rocha; but this officer seems to have declined the doubtful honor.[1]

Under date of September 18, 1833, Fr. Narciso Durán, the

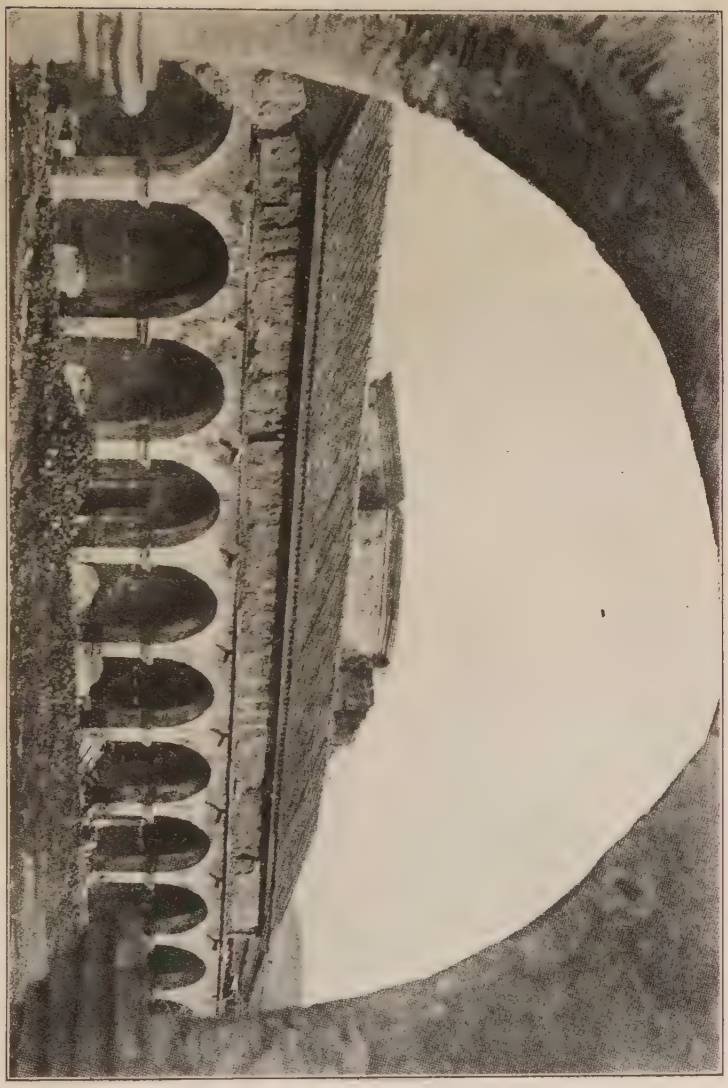
[1] Bancroft, vol. iii, pp. 322; 626.

Superior of the Franciscans, wrote to the governor regarding the plan of emancipating the neophytes of San Juan Capistrano. "I have received," he said, "your note relative to the dispositions of Your Honor regarding San Juan Capistrano. God grant them His blessing, so that they may have a happy issue. Certain it is that to none they are more favorable than to the missionaries." [2]

The plan favored the missionaries inasmuch as it left the property in the hands of the neophytes. Although these could not alienate it, but had to cultivate the land and care for the live stock, the plan relieved the Fathers of the worry about these temporal matters. It was in keeping, too, with the secularization as decreed by the Córtes of 1813, and as carried out in Mexico, wherever the neophytes were sufficiently advanced to manage their lands etc. The California Indians, however, were differently constituted. It required much more time to advance them to such a degree that they could take care of themselves; besides, it was necessary that their white neighbors should be less covetous of Indian lands and more virtuous withal.

At San Juan Capistrano all the mission Indians seem to have been emancipated on a large scale in 1833. At all events, in October of that year, Figueroa informed the Mexican Government that he intended to emancipate all the neophytes of San Juan Capistrano, because they appeared to be more civilized (?) than the others.[3] On September 21, of the same year, Captain Portilla wrote to Figueroa that he would begin at the Rancho of San Mateo, which was the best site of the mission tract, to apportion the lands of San Juan Capistrano among the neophytes; but in another letter of the same date, he stated that the Indians were not willing to go to San Mateo, since they did not understand why the lands at the Mission should not be assigned to them, where they have already irrigated lots on which they were supporting themselves without the aid of the Mission. Accordingly, on October 13, Governor Figueroa granted the petition of the Indians for the suspension of the distribution at San Mateo and ordered lands at the Mission to be assigned under his rules. It may be supposed,

[2] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, Mem. & Rep.*, vol. iv, pp. 145-147.
[3] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Miss. & Colon.*, vol. ii, p. 72.



FR. SERRA'S CHURCH REROOFED BY THE LANDMARKS CLUB. VIEWED THROUGH AN ARCH IN THE REAR OF THE PATIO.

therefore, that these regulations were put in force, and that the Mission was organized into a regular Indian pueblo in October or November of that year. On October 15, the governor declared in a decree on elections that the neophytes were not citizens, but that the emancipated Indians could vote. They were made to feel that their Independence had some strings to it. On November 26, Figueroa directed Portilla to warn the "townsmen" of San Juan Capistrano that they must do nothing but what was allowed in the regulations, and that they must obey the orders sent to Portilla, who was to instruct them in their rights and duties. He further bade them to pay no attention to idle rumors.

How much better it would have been to let the Indians alone and in charge of the unselfish and disinterested missionaries. There would have been no trouble for the governor and no worry for any one else, save for those who coveted the lands and the personal services of the Indians. According to Bancroft himself, the change effected no improvement in the Indians. "The population of San Juan Capistrano," he says, "in 1834 had decreased to 861 souls, and in 1840 it was probably less than 500 with less than 100 at the pueblo proper; while in its crops San Juan (Capistrano) showed a larger deterioration than any other (missionary) establishment," [4] a confession which surely is not to the credit of the plan substituted for the mission system; but we are anticipating.

Yielding to the importunities of the covetous young California crowd, Governor Figueroa, on August 9, 1834, issued his decree of confiscation.[5] Accordingly, the property of the missions which the Fathers had toiled to accumulate only for the Indians, was in part divided among the neophytes, who were then nominally regarded as citizens. The greater portion of the land and of the live stock, however, was granted to individuals who were not Indians and who had had no share whatever in its improvement and growth. In this ingenious way, idle lookers-on were made to enjoy the fruit of the labors performed by the Fathers and their neophytes.

As to the missionaries, they were worn out; and secular priests

[4] Bancroft, vol. iii, pp. 332; 623, 626.

[5] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 7, 42, 109, 131.

were not available, the Bishop not having any to spare; nor, indeed, did he want the charge for his clergy. Furthermore, after the eviction which the confiscation really meant most of the friars were too old or too ill to travel to other regions, as was the case with Fr. Zalvidea at San Juan Capistrano. So, out of love for their poor Indians, who would have no one to defend and console them, the missionaries, with the exception of three or four, among whom was Fr. Zalvidea, remained at their post until they succumbed to hardship and grief and returned their spirit to the Just Judge.

As was to be expected, after the execution of the decree of confiscation, everything speedily deteriorated under the hired administrators. At San Juan Capistrano, the inventory drawn up by Fr. Zalvidea and the four commissioners, José Antonio Pico, José Antonio Fuentes, José Manuel Silva, and Ignacio Ezquer, gave the total valuation of the Mission property including the buildings at $54,456. The buildings alone were estimated at $7,298; the church building at $1,250; the furniture, tools, implements, etc., at $14,-708; the contents of the church and sacristy at $15,568; the ranchos of San Mateo and Mission Vieja at $12,019. The library of the misisonaries was judged to be worth $490. This comprised 209 volumes, among which were the three volumes of Torquemada, each valued at only $3.00, and the twelve volumes of the Año Christiano, together valued at only $5.43. The credits of the Mission amounted to $13,123, while the debts were $1,410.[6] From this the reader will see that the missionaries had managed the property very well, despite untoward circumstances and even at the time when Fr. Zalvidea was in poor health and loathed the charge. The assets far exceeded the debts, which the reader will bear in mind, because things will be found to have been different under the hired managers. Moreover, the missionaries must not have been such unenligthened and ignorant men at all, as some foolish writers have pictured them. They had a valuable library even at that early date.

At the close of 1834, on December 31, probably when the in-

[6] *Cal Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. vi, pp. 572-601.

ventory was made, there were, as was already shown, on the roll of the Mission still 861 Indians. Presently different figures will have to be quoted. There are no definite records for the years 1834 to 1837, except the one stating that on November 22, 1834, Juan José Rocha acknowledged the receipt of the decree for the secularization of the Mission.[7]

The Indians, already thoroughly saturated with the ideas about their freedom from missionary rule, and filled with the importance of their new condition as citizens, had by the year 1834 become unruly. They caused the mayordomo trouble, and would recognize the authority of no one, not even of Fr. Zalvidea. What followed was the decay of the Mission. The fields were not properly worked, the orchards not cared for, and the cattle and herds neglected which, therefore, dwindled in numbers. Figueroa noticed the impending ruin, and, in calling the attention of Fr. Durán to the disorderly state of the temporal affairs, blamed Fr. Zalvidea, although he himself with his hasty decree of emancipation was in no small degree at fault. In reply, the Fr. Comisario Prefecto, under date of July 22, 1834, wrote to the governor:

"I was of the same opinion myself, when I went down there last year. I spoke to the Father about the disorder I observed, but he told me that he could not remedy the trouble; that far from giving him support, the presidio commander of San Diego would take the part of the Indians; that, if the Indians did not want a mayordomo, this was enough for the comandante to remove such mayordomo; that anything the missionary wanted to regulate would produce a tumult. I myself experienced how an Indian alcalde presented himself before me with the demand that a certain mayordomo be removed and that for no other reason than because he, the Indian alcalde, was the judge and did not want mayordomos. Such is the situation. The truth is, the Indians must be either entirely subject or entirely free. To leave them half and half seems to me entirely impossible. No Father is able to get anything out of them. I am satisfied that Fr. Zalvidea does not look on with indifference; for he is very exact in spirit-

[7] Bancroft, vol. iii, pp. 346; 626.

ual matters. I can not lower myself to throw the blame on Fr. Zalvidea. All is owing to the insubordination of the Indians." [8]

The following letter was written by Agustin Sanchez, who calls himself mayordomo of San Juan Capistrano. Though it bears no date, it was written probably to Governor Alvarado between the years 1836 and 1838 for which we have no local records. Bancroft nowhere has the name of this individual. Agustin Sanchez writes:

"The dearth is well known which this establishment of San Juan Capistrano has suffered until it reached a pass where it sees the people in utter nakedness, which does not permit them to do the least labor. Therefore the Very Rev. Missionary of this ex-Mission in accord with me thought it well to ask a loan of Don José A. Aguirre to the amount of 365 pesos and 5 reales; and of Don Pio Pico a loan of 100 pesos in goods to be repaid in liquids produced at this establishment. With this aid I have been able for a while to start the ordinary work which had been paralized, and I expect a very good result from it. I am resting in security since the Indians are now reunited and are restoring the old buildings which threatened to become a total ruin.

"Señor, I have also the honor of communicating to Your Honor the very wise measures of the Rev. Fr. Zalvidea, and at the same time of beseeching Your Honor to be pleased to make arrangements that this establishment may be helped out with implements and other utensils of which there is need, either to the account of the Ex-Mission or on order of Your Excellency, as you may find most convenient.—Agustin Sanchez." [9]

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[8] *Archb. Arch.,* no. 2,182.

[9] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. xi, p. 632.

CHAPTER XIII.

New Governor Appointed.—Alvarado Refuses to Surrender the Office.—Military Force.—Bravery of the Californians.—Administrators.—Indians not Free.—Property Wasted.—Inspector Hartnell.—The Situation at San Juan Capistrano.—Indians Want Fr. Zalvidea.—Sad Incident.

ON June 6, 1837, Carlos Antonio Carrillo was appointed provisional governor of California, taking the place of Juan Bautista Alvarado who had usurped the government. But Alvarado would not acknowledge him. The affair had to be fought out, and both parties raised such armies as they could. These armies never amounted to more than two hundred armed men on either side, who took good care not to come within the range of bullets. Alvarado succeeded in raising a force slightly larger in numbers, and this circumstance made Carrillo retire down the coast as far as Las Flores. "An adobe building of the rancho (which belonged to Mission San Juan Capistrano) served as barracks, and an adjoining corral as a fort. Three cannon were mounted so as to command the approaches, the gunners being protected, and weak points strengthened, by a judicious arrangement of hides, pack-saddles, and whatever else was at hand. Juan Bandini and José Antonio Carrillo (the nominee's brother) seem to have been present as well as Don Carlos. Requeña, Ibarra, and other prominent Angelinos were also within the fortified corral.

"Ignacio Ezquer, who was temporarily in charge of Mission San Juan (Capistrano), the administrator (apparently Francisco Sepúlveda) having gone to join the southern army, says that J. A. Carrillo with a small party from the south came one evening and inquired about Castro's men (Alvarado's commander), of whom nothing had been heard. He intended to sleep at the mission, but finally decided to go to the arroyo near by to spend the night, taking along a supply of wine and aguardiente. At midnight, narrator was roused from sleep by the arrival of Castro's men. Later, much liquor was consumed, and narrator was compelled to get drunk, not losing consciousness, however, until the new-comers

had fired a cannon toward the port, thus scaring away the sleepers at the arroyo, who left some of their accoutrements behind . . . . The gun was fired on account of Alvarado's suspicions that there might be foes in that direction, and that some horses were found tied there . . . . Salvador Vallejo being sent forward to occupy San Juan (Capistrano) by 'conciliatory' means, did so by sending a threat to hang all who did not instantly surrender, or, as one says, he (Vallejo) charged bayonets and rushed madly through all the mission buildings from which the foe had retired!"

Alvarado and Castro with over two hundred men occupied the Mission of San Juan Capistrano about the same time that Carrillo reached Las Flores. On April 21, 1838, this little "northern army appeared in battle array before the improvised fort which protected the southern foe;" but the combat which ensued "was for the most part one of tongue and pen, though a cannon was once or twice fired from the corral, doing no harm . . . . A flag of truce was sent—from which side first is not quite clear—with a demand, not for surrender, but for an interview . . . . Several interviews were held at Las Flores, midway between the two armies, by the rival governors and their representatives, before a satisfactory settlement could be effected." On April 23, a treaty was signed, which finally left the government of California in the hands of Alvarado. The latter, with little regard for truth, but quite in keeping with the fashion of the Californians, on the same April 23, "sent a despatch to Vallejo and other officials in the north, stating that for three days with his 250 men he had besieged the foe, 100 strong with three cannon, at Las Flores, preventing their advance to attack the peaceful inhabitants of the north. Don Carlos was among the besieged, but after several interviews had offered nothing satisfactory to the California people. Yet a complete victory by force of arms, the only way left, could not fail to follow within a few days . . . . I omit further details," Bancroft notes in conclusion, "which are, I suspect, much more amusing than accurate."[1]

On August 27, 1837, Fr. José Maria Zalvidea asked the gover-

[1] *History of California,* vol. iii, pp. 558-562.

nor for a passport, "so that he might end his days quietly in his college." But his request was refused.[2]

Santiago Argüello succeeded Francisco Sepúlveda[3] as adminis-

CORRIDOR ALONG FR. SERRA'S CHURCH.
TRIPPLE ARCH IN DISTANCE.

[2] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* i, 650; *Dept. St. Pap.,* v, 330-336.

[3] The administrators from 1834 seem to have been Ensign Rocha, José Antonio Pico, and Francisco Sepúlveda.

trator of San Juan Capistrano, on January 27, 1838. His salary amounted to $1,000. On the same day, an inventory was drawn up; but it gives no valuations. The live stock consisted of 494 head of cattle, 448(?) horses, and 20 mules. Thirty-three fanegas of wheat and thirty-two fanegas of barley were sown.[4]

The $1,000 salary which Argüello received for his services as administrator, had to be furnished, of course, by the labor of the neophytes, who had been declared free, indeed, but as a matter of fact were not free, since they were obliged to labor just as before without receiving anything beyond scanty food and clothing. Formerly, under the Fathers, all the income was applied to the Mission community, as the missionaries accepted nothing for themselves but the meager food they consumed and the habits and sandals they wore. The Indians were not so stupid as not to see that much if not most of what they raised was exacted from them for the salaries of the officials and their families. Santiago appears to have been one of the least selfish and greedy of the administrators. However, impoverished as the Mission became from year to year, the salary, which the Indians had to pay him before they could think of securing any of the fruits of their labors for themselves and their families, was necessarily felt to be an unjust burden. In this case, it was not the fault so much of the administrator as of the hireling system, which had been foisted upon the hapless neophytes by the Pio Pico crowd. Furthermore, Argüello seems to have looked somewhat to profit in addition to his salary, and this, too, created much dissatisfaction. Now we can understand what follows. On April 8, 1839, José Delfin, an Indian neophyte of the Mission, on behalf of all his fellow neophytes, charged the administrator, Santiago Argüello, with wasting and misapplying the mission effects, in consequence of which the Indians, tired of working without benefit to themselves, were deserting. He claimed that the administrator cultivated fields for himself with Indian labor; that he put his brand on the best horses; and that he bought animals with the mission brandy. Thereupon the sixty Indians remaining at work, demanded an administrator who was just and who had not so large a family.

[4] *Cal Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. vi, pp. 32-33. Bancroft Collection.

The last clause will be better understood, if the reader bears in mind that Santiago Argüello had not only twenty-two children, but relatives also whom likewise the Mission was expected to maintain.[5]

Governor Alvarado directed the lately appointed inspector of the missions, William Hartnell, to investigate the charges. Hartnell arrived at San Juan Capistrano, after visiting San Luis Rey, about the middle of June, 1839. On June 24, he reported to Alvarado that San Juan Capistrano owed to various individuals $1,600, not counting what was due to Fr. Zalvidea according to the disposition of the territorial assembly, nor considering other debts of the Mission, which would bring the sum to $5,000; that worms or caterpillars had done much damage to the vineyards; but that in the present year more than 2,000 vine stocks had been replaced. With regard to the Indians, only eighty souls were left, and these at the time were all in a state of excitement. He had assembled them in order to inform them of the result of the information which he had secured regarding the complaints they had made against Santiago Argüello, the administrator. These accusations were in substance the same that were expressed in the memorial presented to the governor and in the name of the community signed by José Fermín (Delfin). On the whole, these complaints lacked foundation, Hartnell reported to Alvarado. As well from the account books of the administrator as from the favorable opinion and reports of Fr. Zalvidea, of the alcade mayor and of other Indians who were questioned, it was clear that Argüello in no way defrauded the Mission.

When Hartnell let the Indians, men and women, see that he had not discovered anything in the conduct of Argüello for which he should be deprived of the office, they loudly declared that, if the administrator were not removed from office, they would leave the Mission, because they were tired of filling so many mouths and of clothing so many people who composed the administrator's family. The Father exhorted the Indians to obey, Hartnell averred, but no matter what he would say to calm them, he could

[5] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. vi, 34-37. Bancroft Collection.

not succeed in appeasing them. Right from the beginning of the interview, they as the first thing demanded that the administrator must be removed immediately, and that his place should be filled by Vicente Moraga or by Francisco Sepúlveda. When Fr. Zalvidea assured them that either of the two men they wanted was worse than the present administrator, and when thereupon Hartnell refused to commit the act of injustice, they pleaded that they might remain under the direction of the Father, because, as they said, they recognized that the Mission was not in a condition to pay the salary of the administrator, but that with the Father they would labor cheerfully *even if he gave them nothing;* for they were convinced that, when the Father gave them nothing, it would be because there was nothing.[6] It was the Father who had told them to take their complaints to the government, and they had promised him to await the resolution of the governor. Hartnell concludes by saying that from the inquiries he had made, he saw that various white people were advising the Indians wrongly, and that it would be expedient to remove them from there.[7]

However, two months later, and *it is Alvarado himself who relates the sad incident,* an aged Indian of San Juan Capistrano arrived on horseback, having stolen the animal for that purpose, at Monterey and appearing before Governor Alvarado declared: "I am not an animal that they may make me work for masters who are not to my liking. You can do two things with me; either order me to be shot, if you wish, or give me liberty, if you are a just man. As for me, it is all the same. I am an old man and shall have to die soon anyway. You know that it matters little to me whether I die to-day or to-morrow."

This was in August, 1839, before Hartnell had finished his first inspection tour. Alvarado says he was ill at the time; wherefore his secretary, Manuel Jimeno, called a servant of his and

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[6] "Que pidieron quedar solos al mando del Padre, diciendo, que conocen que la Mission no esta en estado de pagar el sueldo del administrador, y que con el Padre trabajarian gustosos aunque no se les diese nada; pues, estan persuadidos que, cuando el Padre no les de nada, sera porque no habra."

[7] *Cal Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. xi, 334-341.

ordered him to conduct the Indian to the house of Don Guillermo Hartnell and to beg the wife of the inspector to deign to care for the old Indian until it could be determined what to do with the unfortunate man. When the Indian was provided with food and shelter, Jimeno in the name of the sick governor despatched Señor Estrada to make the rounds of the ranchos which employed Indians of the Missions and at his return to report what he had learned regarding the treatment which they gave to their peones. Estrada set out immediately, returned after eight days, and informed Jimeno that in many ranchos the mayordomos (foremen) unknown to the owners treated the Indians, who had been hired there, with much severity. Manuel Jimeno, on the ground of this report, immediately issued a decree prohibiting the mayordomos of the Missions to hire out to ranchéros any more neophytes.[8]

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[8] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 156, 157.

CHAPTER XIV

Consequences of Premature Emancipation.—Immorality.—Desertions.—Fr. Durán to Fr. Zalvidea.—J. A. Estudillo's Proposal.—Fr. Zalvidea in Charge.—Appoints Augustin Janssens Mayordomo.—Indians Turbulent.—Interesting Letters of Fr. Zalvidea.

THE premature emancipation of the neophytes from missionary control had another and more deplorable effect. Those viciously inclined took advantage of the lack of all moral restraint and completely surrendered themselves to the gratification of their animal instincts. What followed may be well imagined. One example may suffice as illustrative of the rest. In June, 1840, Dionisio, an emancipated Indian of San Juan Capistrano demanded that his sister, Magdalen, who also had been emancipated and who, on account of misdemeanors, had been locked up by Fr. Zalvidea, be set at liberty. On being notified of this demand, by the Prefect of Los Angeles, Fr. Zalvidea replied that the woman had been leading a dissolute life; that, since she was a widow, she had had six children; that her youngest child was but two months old; that he had tried in vain to reform her; and that for this reason he had ordered her to be locked up. After reading this report of the missionary, the prefect gave orders that Silvério (apparently the fellow with whom Magdalen had consorted) appear before the second Justice of the Peace. The latter reproved him for living with another woman and neglecting his lawful wife and then commanded that he either return to his lawful wife or take a punishment. The woman was not permitted to return to San Juan Capistrano.[1]

In August, 1839, Santiago Argüello had reported that he could not improve the state of affairs, on account of constant desertions and robberies as also on account of the prefect's refusal to allow the arrest of the runaways. During his absence, early in 1840, his son Ramon Argüello was left in charge; but as already

[1] Santiago Argüello, on July 25, 1840, in *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., Angeles, Decrees, Dispatches,* etc., vol. iv, pp. 524-528.

shown, the Indians were bitterly opposed to the whole Argüello family. For a second time, Hartnell arrived at San Juan Capistrano with authority to set free the Indians, if he could make satisfactory arrangements in keeping with the new regulations issued by Alvarado for the government of the ex-missions. Hartnell put these regulations in force. At first, Ramon Argüello was appointed mayordomo; but when he arrived, in July, the Indians were in great excitement and refused to submit to him. Then came a proposition from Andrés Pico to rent the Mission, to support the missionary and the aged and infirm, and to pay fair wages to all ex-neophytes who would work.[2]

This sounded very plausible; but when Fr. Zalvidea notified the Fr. Comisário, Fr. Durán, the latter wrote him the following very interesting letter, which shows that the insatiable Picos had their eyes on the Mission, but not for the benefit of its Indian owners.

Your esteemed letter of the sixteenth of the current month regarding the coming up of Your Reverence to San Buenaventura in case the Bishop comes, it seems to me very well that Your Reverence postpone your departure from San Juan Capistrano until circumstances may open the door to better aid for your poor neophytes. Still, I doubt very much that any secular priest will accomodate himself as missionary to the life of privations in California. Time will tell us also how we shall be situated, whether in the capacity of missionaries or of curates with an assigned salary, in which latter case, I believe, reasons will not be wanting for becoming disgusted.

With regard to the lease of San Juan Capistrano, which the three Picos desire, I am really at a loss what to say. On the one hand, the poor Indians might secure therefrom some advantages in food and clothing; but, on the other hand, one must be blind not to fear that the next step of the Picos will be to make themselves proprietors of the Mission with manifest hardship to the Indians. Moreover, that sort of renting, in which the direct dominion remains with the Indians while the proceeds go to the lessee, in which they make no mention of paying the Indians the annual rent as they agreed and as the contract of the lease essentially demands, in which (they agree) to pay the daily wages to the laborers, that is, to the real owners, that sort of renting is in my opinion so strange and unjust that I do not know a law or a lawgiver that considers even the possibility of those men even being capable of proposing such a contract. Only in a territory like this

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[2] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, 184; Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 627.

can such a monstrosity be seen, and I shall be very careful not to implicate myself in it, wishing that Your Reverence act similarly. If this lease would propose to pay the Indians the annual rent and to bring other laborers from elsewhere who might earn daily wages, since the Indians are few and emancipated, in that case there would be nothing strange in the transaction. But that the actual owners should pass from their condition of owners to the unhappy state of laborers for wages which the lessee chooses to give them, with no law binding the other party, the lessee, that is equivalent to condemning the unfortunate Indians to a slavery more burdensome than with the system of administrators, under which the poor Indian was laboring hungry and unclothed all the year round and which was the only reason the dispersed Indians of the Missions always gave me when I spoke to them about their desertions.

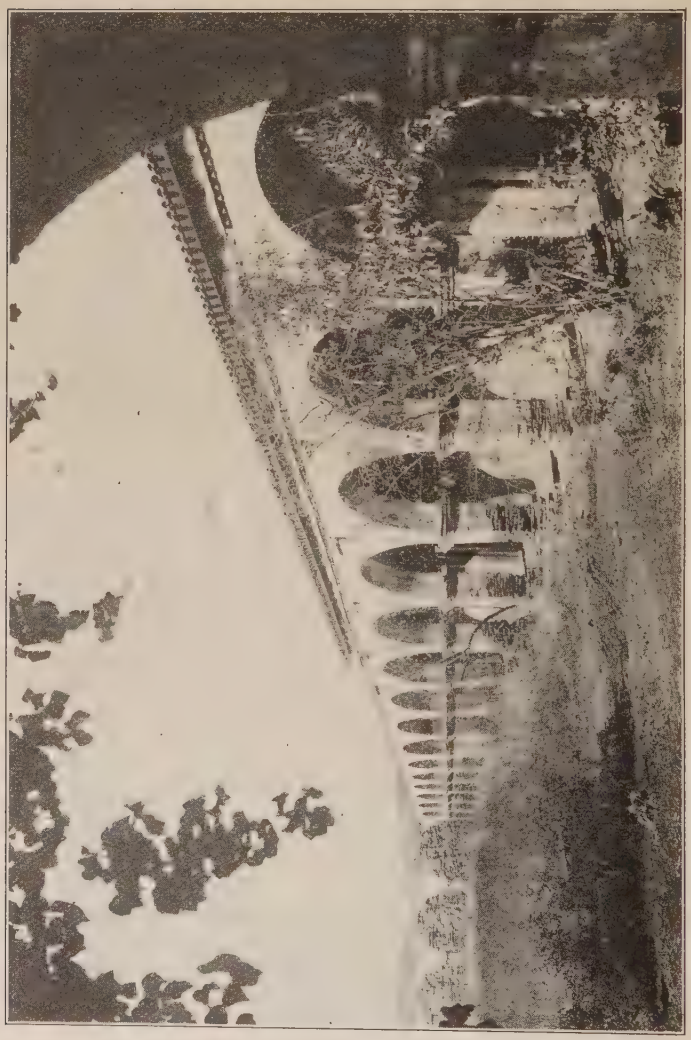
I refrain from saying that those gentlemen know very well that the way to provide food and clothing and to reunite the Indians is not the cattle nor the wool of the Picos; rather without them, the Indians ate, were clothed and united.

Finally, the Bishop is about to arrive. We will not meddle with anything which might prejudice the Indians.—May 21, 1840. Fr. Narciso Durán.[3]

When Pico's cunning plan had failed of realization, J. A. Estudillo offered to take the Mission as mayordomo for the space of five or six years, if he were left one-third of the product of the estates, instead of a fixed salary. He would oblige himself to care for the missionary and the Indians, to repair the buildings, and to add his own horses and oxen for working purposes to those of the Mission; but the Indians would listen to no proposals and insisted on being formed into a pueblo or town according to Echeandia's plan. In the end it was decided that temporarily, until the government could make arrangements for establishing a pueblo, Fr. Zalvidea should once more have the management of the property. To this the Indians readily agreed and promised to work faithfully under his direction and administration. In consequence, Ramon Argüello lost his position of mayordomo. This roused the anger of his father who, in a letter received by Hartnell on August 19, the day after his arrival there, demanded satisfaction for his son Ramon Argüello, whom he had violently deprived of the office of mayordomo of San Juan Capistrano.[4]

[3] *Archivo de las Misiones, Papeles Originales,* tomo ii, p. 1,059, Banc. Col.

[4] Bancroft, iii, 627; *Cal Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* xi, 166-173.



ARCHES OF THE CORRIDOR ALONG FR. SERRA'S CHURCH.

Soon various troubles beset the Father, who had with great reluctance accepted the unwelcome charge. In December, 1840, he reported to the governor that José Sepúlveda was soliciting the Mission, but that at an earlier period when the Mission had come under the administration of Francisco Sepúlveda, José Sepúlveda had seized all the cattle and horses, 2,000 head, that were in the place called San Joaquin; and that this act of injustice had produced a bad impression. He was relating this, he added, in order that justice might be done.[5]

After that date, Fr. Zalvidea absolutely refused to remain in charge or to act as a curate at the proposed pueblo, unless some families of white people (gente de razon) be allowed to settle there and some civil authority be established to curb the Indian alcaldes. At the end of December, 1840, he accordingly appointed Agustin Janssens as acting mayordomo, and this action was approved by Governor Alvarado in the following February. Janssens had been living for a time at Trabuco as representative of Captain Argüello, who was soliciting a grant of the rancho. At this time, large numbers of Indians from San Juan Capistrano were absent from the Mission. They were at Los Angeles or at the ranchos, which roving life was much more to their liking.

The year 1841 continued to be a period of turmoil, as may be expected. By word and example the revolutionary spirit had been instilled in the Indians during Echeandia's misrule; and they had observed how little the Picos, Alvarados, and Bandinis respected lawful authority, and how little the henchmen of these worthies respected property rights. Why there should be laws for the Indian and none for the whites was a thing the Indians, once alienated from their spiritual guides, could not and would not understand, much less submit to. The covetous California chiefs were reaping just what they had sown. Janssens, the new mayordomo, soon found it necessary to make a loan in order to obtain the needed articles. Governor Alvarado approved it on January 1, 1841.[6]

After confiscating the Missions, the territorial legislature had

[5] *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap.*, vol. v. pp. 211-212; 336.

[6] Bancroft, iii, 627-628; iv, 625.

assigned to the missionaries a salary or annual allowance. What was paid of it reached the Fathers in the shape of cattle or produce. On January 21, 1841, Fr. Zalvidea informed the governor that, with the sum allotted for divine worship and the maintenance of the missionary, he had purchased 800 head of cattle and had sent them to the Ciénaga to pasture. On the next day, January 22, he addressed another letter to the governor telling him that the Indians claimed several men were trying to secure grants of Misison lands. He asked that this be stopped. The Father generously offered the Indians the use of his own cattle, 565 head, that they might be able to domesticate the wild cattle. It is well worth while to reproduce both documents bearing on this matter. The first one reads as follows:

Don J. B. Alvarado.—Very Dear Sir:—Foreseeing that the Mission would not supply what was assigned for divine worship and for the support of the missionary, I resolved, with the knowledge of my Superior, to purchase some cattle with the alms of my allowance. Accordingly, 800 head and more were acquired. I placed them at the locality called Ciénaga. As Don Nicolas Gutierrez was then governor, I made known to him my intention in the presence of the administrator, who was then Don José Antonio Pico, and he ordained that the said cattle, being the product of the allowance for divine worship and for the missionary, should be cared for by the community which was properly obliged thereto. Then Francisco Sepúlveda succeeded as administrator and he made me take the cattle away from Ciénaga, because his son was the proprietor of that place. Therefore I placed the cattle at a place called Trabuco. As the gentile Indians of the Rancho Don Santiago Argüello prejudiced his stock, Don Santiago Argüello took them away and besought me to permit that his stock remain temporarily with those at Trabuco. In my kindness I so permitted. At present the Indians are tranquil, and their Rancho of Tia Juana is capable of maintaining more than 8,000 head of cattle. I am aware also that at the Mission of San Gabriel a place has been assigned temporarily for his stock. For this reason and for the reason explained to Your Honor that the site of Trabuco without that of Ciénaga, which Don José Sepúlveda is occupying, is too small to maintain Argüello's cattle along with those set apart for my use, I supplicate Your Honor to be pleased to command Santiago Argüello to take away his live stock. To this must be added that the pastures have been burnt and it is a bad year for want of water.

Finally, if Your Honor thinks otherwise for the sake of avoiding lawsuits and vexations, I petition Your Honor to be pleased to give me my passport, so that I may retire to my College, as I have asked for years to

be allowed to do. Only your gift of persuasion and that of my Superior have detained me. The Indian community came and informed me that efforts had been made to deprive them of Trabuco, Mission Vieja, and Yuiguilli. If their land is taken from them, how will they (the Indians) maintain their few thousand cattle [7] which in time might be reduced? I am acquainted with their solid reasons as also with their rights, favored by the laws of nature and by the wise laws of the Indies which I refrain from quoting because your wisdom is not ignorant of them. But, in order not to hear the clamors of the poor without power to help them, I again ask Your Honor for my passport. The permit of my Prelate I already have in

ELLIPTICAL ARCHES OF DIFFERENT AXES IN THE FRONT CORRIDOR.

writing. In justice Your Honor can not refuse me the passport, since I have been serving in the territory these thirty-six years. Excuse the molestations, and command your servant, etc.—Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea. [8]

In the other letter addressed to Governor Alvarado and dated January 22, Fr. Zalvidea says:

[7] "que son algunos miles."

[8] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap.* vol. v, p. 295.

To-day the neophytes, reunited at this Mission in my charge, presented themselves before men and informed me that some white men were going around and soliciting the sites that belong to this Mission (which has been maintained with the product of the cattle and horses), and that therefore they (the Indians) saw themselves compelled to turn to me (as they have affectionately done) for the purpose of ascertaining whether an end could not be put to such activities which aggravate them. They presented also other reasons worthy of my consideration. Moved by their clamoring, I offered to bring the matter to the knowledge of Your Honor and to let you know at the same time that I am willing to donate to the Mission the product of the cattle which I have destined as a Pious Fund, but which cattle I shall loan to the Indians so that they may breed and domesticate the wild cattle which are in the ranchos of Trabuco, Mision Vieja, Niguil, and San Mateo, which cattle pasture in the sierra of Santiago as far as Santa Rosa and which are believed to be of considerable number, according to the information which the mayordomo and other individuals of intelligence have given me.—Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea. [9]

A third letter was dated March 22, 1841. In it Fr. Zalvidea addressed Governor Alvarado as follows:

My Dear Sir:—Don Santiago Argüello and Don José Estudillo have in formed me that Your Honor had granted to the first the site of Trabuco and to the second the Mision Vieja. Those localities are occupied by the cattle purchased with my *sínodos,* with the knowledge of my Prelate and the consent of the government of the Province, and they are dedicated to pious works for divine worship and for its minister as also for the relief of the necessities of the infirm Indians and those incapacitated for work. [10], and this should so continue in the future even though I do not remain in the Mission.

The Catholic Religion, which we promised to profess in Baptism, and the Constitution of the Mexican Republic commanding that this Religion should be the only one which is to be observed in its domain, has been sworn to by its inhabitants. This Religion ordains through the Supreme Pontiffs and through its Canons that secular authorities shall not infringe upon *obras piadosas.*

Therefore I supplicate Your Honor to revoke the decree granting said sites and to command that Sr. Argüello remove the cattle which he has at Trabuco, because it is manifest that the lines which had been fixed prejudice the progress of the cattle which have been placed there for an income

[9] *Cal Arch., Dept., St. Pap.,* vol. v. pp, 330-331.

[10] "obras piadosas para el culto Divino, y su ministro y socorro de las necesidades de los Indios enfermos é imposibilitados de trabajar."

for the pious works mentioned before, as I have already made known to Your Honor and will prove by men who are of sound character and who are impartial. I hope from your noble sentiments that you will so order, for otherwise I see myself obliged in conscience to defend the rights of the Church and to appeal to a higher tribunal and to proceed to that very capital, in order there to make the defence and to make the guilty ones responsible for the years and damages.—March 22, 1841..—Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea. [11]

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[11] *Cal Arch., Dept. St. Pap.,* vol. v, p. 329.

CHAPTER XV.

Fr. Zalvidea on the Alert.—A Pious Fund on a Small Scale.—Enormous Land Grants.—Fr. Zalvidea's Savings.—Mayordomo Janssens Honest.—Pueblo of San Juan Capistrano Dissolved.—Claims.

THE letters reproduced in the preceding chapter demonstrate that the kind Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea, who loathed to have anything to do with temporalities, nevertheless had his eyes open to the rights of the Indians. He would not let them suffer injustice, if he could prevent it, notwithstanding that many of them deserved to be abandoned. The correspondence also makes it clear that the chief *paisanos,* or so-called Californians, hardly hesitated to squeeze out of the luckless Indians as much as they could secure under cover of the law, without any regard for the needs of the neophytes. Furthermore, it will soon be seen that Fr. Zalvidea, though physically enfeebled, was by no means the imbecile that thoughtless writers represent him. He now proposed and actually inaugurated a plan which, though startling as coming from an aged missionary seeking rest, would have solved many a difficulty. Why not allow the missionary of each Mission a grant of land, such appears to have been his plan, so that he might create a Pious Fund on a small scale? After receiving the permit of the governor and the approval of his Superior, he forthwith set about saving for that purpose. He began collecting a herd of cattle out of his savings and declared them Church property and therefore inviolable, since for himself and for his Order he could not institute such a fund. All he needed was sufficient land; but this was denied him at Trabuco and Mision Vieja which, regardless of the rights of the Indians, were given away to such as had done nothing to make those places productive. Under such circumstances, of course, his plan failed.

Let us see how munificently other claimants for land were gratified. The Santa Gertrudis Grant of Los Nietos, spoken of before, comprised altogether 300,000 acres or about 68 square leagues. Now, which Mission ever claimed or possessed for

2,000 neophytes so much as was given to one man, Manuel Nieto? Under such conditions, where neither the rights of the original owners nor the rights of the Missions were recognized, it sounds like retribution what Hittel writes of the outcome of such grants. Disputes would arise, and "it was not uncommon for the confirmation and final settlement of a grant to cost, including enormous counsel fees and other unavoidable expenses, almost, if not quite as much, as the land would sell for. As an illustration it may be stated that, though over 326,000 acres were confirmed to three of the (N. N.) family, they were miserably poor; and so were the brothers Pio and Andrés Pico, to whom over 532,000 acres were confirmed. Very few of the Californians, notwithstanding their principalities in the shape of lands, were enriched by them."[1]

Bancroft tells a story which sounds dubious; but it finds a place here because it touches the scrupulously exact Fr. Zalvidea. At one time, this missionary had $2,000 in Spanish *onzas,* saved probably from the sale of hides or tallow or perhaps from donations received for his priestly services, which sum he had put aside for the needs of the neophytes. The money was said to have been intrusted to the mayordomo, Victor E. A. Janssens, for safekeeping and to avoid the importunities of borrowers who knew the Father's kind heart only too well. Janssens had buried it in his room. On going to Monterey on official business, the mayordomo told Fr. Zalvidea where the money was. In the north he heard that he had been accused of having fled with the money; and on returning he had some difficulty in avoiding arrest. At San Juan Capistrano, Fr. Zalvidea, on hearing the rumors, declared Janssens innocent; but in so doing he incautiously revealed the whereabouts of the money, which, of course, was soon after dug up by thieves. Juan Bandini was summoned and he succeeded in recovering most of the money; but he kept the matter quiet for the sake of certain parties implicated in the theft. That is one version of the story. The only other version is that of Juan Bandini himself. He said that he had been summoned

[1] *California,* ii, 748, 753. *Missions and Missionaries,* iv, 746.

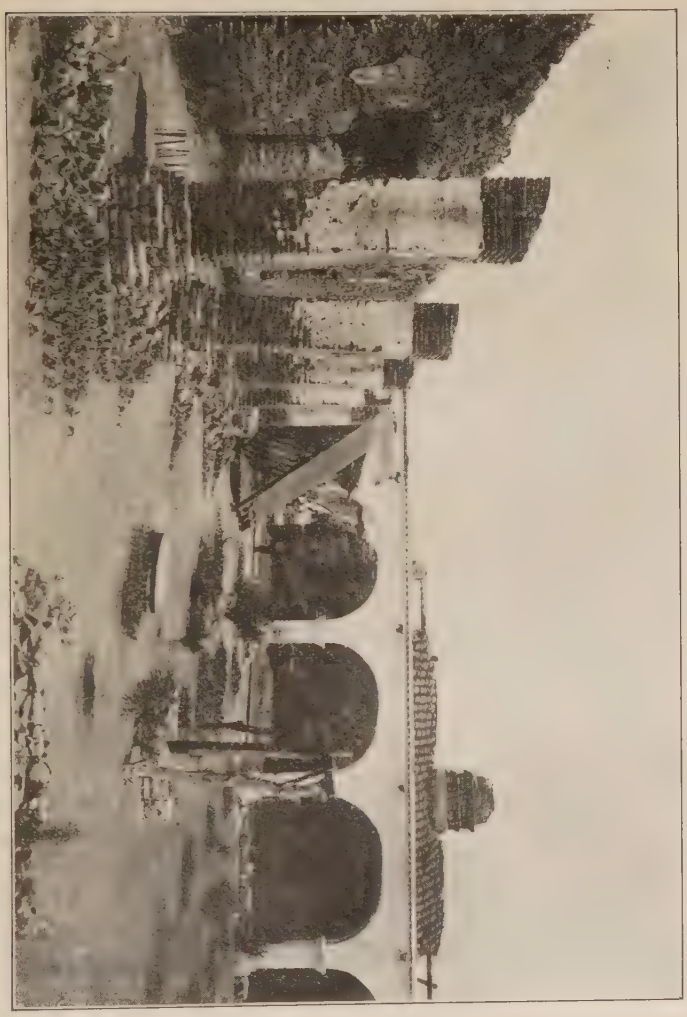
by the Father who, on account of Janssens's departure, was anxious about the treasure, and in the presence of witnesses he (Bandini) dug up the money which, it was found, lacked six ounces. On the request of Fr. Zalvidea, he took charge of the money and gave it to Abel Stearns for safekeeping; but soon he found himself the target of accusations. It seems that he was charged with so arranging the matter that, in case of Fr. Zalvidea's death, he would be able to keep the money; and that in consequence Fr. Duran wrote a very bitter and insulting (?) letter which filled Don Juan Bandini with wrath. Bancroft avers that in a letter from which these facts are taken Bandini announced his purpose to come to Santa Barbara to get satisfaction and to have it settled whether he was a *pícaro* (knave) or Fr. Narciso Durán an impostor.[2]

It was the business of Bandini to reproduce Fr. Durán's letter or at least the insulting passages. This he failed to do, a fact which lends overwhelming weight to the supposition that also in this case the Fr. Prefecto did not transgress his usual course of business-like candor and propriety. He would surely have advised Fr. Zalvidea what to do, if the matter had been referred to him at all, which is not likely, in view of the recovery of the money. Between the two, Janssens's version for one thing sounds far more plausible, while, on the other hand, Bandini was not above shady transactions, something that can not be said of Janssens.[3] Janssens was neither a Mexican nor a so-called Californian, but a Belgian; and we have every reason to believe that Fr. Zalvidea knew very well what he was doing when he appointed him mayordomo in preference to a *paisano* of that period.

According to Bancroft, Janssens related many details regarding his appointment and subsequent experience, and claimed to have accomplished much during his management, bringing back refugees, building fences, repairing ditches, clothing the Indians, and achieving all kinds of reforms, much to the joy of Fr. Zalvidea and of all interested, although some of his neighbors ridiculed his

[2] Bancroft, vol. iv, p. 624.

[3] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, pp. 134, 254, 511-514. See Bancroft (vol. iv, p. 691) for antecedents of Bandini.



LONG BUILDING UNROOFED. ITS PILLARS. POZOLERA CHIMNEY.

zeal and predicted that all his efforts would prove futile. In the end, such was really the case, too, because those higher-up were the hungry and idle so-called Californians. Soon orders for the delivery of cattle began to come in from government officials, Alvarado then being governor, which Janssens refused to obey. Then came the orders of organizing a pueblo, after Janssens had vainly applied for a lease of six years, willing to bind himself to return the property in an improved condition and assuring the government of Alvarado that there was no real need of selling the Mission estate; but there were others clamoring for the spoils and to these Alvarado was under obligation.

On May 10, 1841, Manuel Jimeno, Alvarado's secretary, notified Santiago Argüello that, "yielding to the importunities of the San Diego settlers, the governor has resolved to decree, in view of the fact that San Juan Capistrano is in a ruinous state, that the small community of neophytes existing there should be dissolved. The prefect of the second district," the secretary continued, "is directed to inform the Justice of Peace of the pueblo of San Diego that those interested should at once establish their fields and temporary dwellings, i. e., put in their claims, while the government was arranging the matter and form, according to which they may fix their residence and establish their perpetual right thereto. A commissioner named by the prefecture will meanwhile regulate these concessions in accord with the administrator of San Juan Capistrano, so that the neophytes may not be prejudiced in any way whatever, since they possess equal rights with the whites (teniendo estos igual derecho que los razon)."[4] In plain English —the owners have equal rights with the intruders! How generous these mission despoilers and unscrupulous intruders imagined themselves!

For all that, Alvarado was clearly exceeding his authority, since every radical change of the status of the Missions—and this surely was a radical change—had to receive the approval of the Supreme Government in Mexico. There is not the slightest evidence that he submitted his regulations for approval to the Supreme Government; but such trifles did not worry the California

[4] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap., Angeles, Off. Cor.,* vol. xii, 484-486.

chiefs. Pio Pico will do much worse, in spite of a direct prohibition of the Supreme Government; but we must not anticipate.

Without delay, Santiago Argüello put in his claim; and, on June 7, 1841, Governor Alvarado ordered Mayordomo Janssens to deliver to said Santiago Argüello thirty fillies in payment for what was due said claimant. José Sepúlveda, too, made demands; but he claimed more than was coming to him and, therefore, under date of June 12, 1841, he was given to understand that he had a claim only to the Rancho Ciénaga de las Ranas, and that he was arbitrarily occupying the sites of El Toro and Niquil.[5]

On July 5, 1841, Janssens reported that worms had destroyed all the crops and that the Indians had gone away from the Mission, leaving everything in a wretched condition.[6]

It may not be superfluous to remind the reader that, in criticizing the *paisanos*, or Californians as they were pleased to herald themselves, we have in mind the natives of Mexican extraction who caused the ruin of the Missions, demoralized the neophyte Indians, oppressed the missionaries, and otherwise proved themselves unworthy the name Christian, although they insisted on being regarded as Catholics. It is not pleasant to expose the wickedness of those who should have gloried in aiding the Missions rather than in wiping them out. If the descendants manifest a higher sense of justice and of Christian morals, they will receive the credit due. If, on the other hand, they think and conduct themselves as did their ancestors, the blame is altogether their own.

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[5] *Cal Arch., Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, vol. vi, p. 46. Bancroft Collection. See also Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. iv, p. 625.

[6] *Cal Arch., St. Pap., Missions*, vol. xi, pp. 636-637.

CHAPTER XVI.

Land Lots Assigned.—The Beneficiaries.—Surviving Indians.—Hittell on San Juan Capistrano.—Alvarado's Regulations.—San Juan de Argüello.—Juan Bandini in Charge.—Fr. Zalvidea.

THE beginning of the end dates from about the middle of June, 1841, when San Juan Capistrano began to lose its character of an Indian Mission. On the seventh of that month, J. Moreno was ordered to notify the *vecinos,* that is, the settlers of San Diego, that their previously placed petition for the dissolution of the Indian community organization was granted, and that they were to come to San Juan Capistrano a week later, on the fourteenth, in order to take temporary possession, or, as he should have put it, in order to feast, like rapacious vultures on what was left of the Indian property. On June 30, a petition was presented signed by new applicants who wished to be admitted as settlers at San Juan Capistrano. These were Augustin Janssens, Feliciano Rojas, Teodosio Yorba, José Cañedo, José M. Cañedo, Juan M. Cañedo, José A. Serrano, José Cristan, Severiano Rios, Miguel Verdugo, Eugenio Arce, José A. Yorba, Antonio F. Coronel, and Francisco Ocampo. In a marginal note the prefect granted the petition. So there was no lack of applications for grants of the few Mission ranchos, while citizens of the district applied for the privilege of becoming settlers of the proposed town.

About the middle of June, the prefect, by order of the governor, commissioned Agustin Olvera to distribute the San Juan Capistrano lands among the remnant of neophytes, about one hundred in number, and among some forty petitioners of the non-Indian class, but of whom only a small proportion came to occupy their lots. Those who received lands, in each case from 100 to 300 *varas en cuadro* (square yards) were, according to Bancroft, the following: Andrés Pico, Tomas Gutiérrez, Ricardo Peña, José López, Carlos Silva, Juan M. Marron, J. Marron, Ramon Silvas, Ramon Argüello, Santiago Argüello, Santiago E. Argüello, José A. Estudillo, Narciso Botello, Juan Bandini, Agus-

tin Olvera, Joaquin de los Rios, José Alipás, Rosário Aguilar, Blas Aguilár, Antonio Valenzuela, and the fourteen named before, besides five neophytes. There was also a list of neophytes, of whom each family received one hundred varas, and each individual fifty varas. The whole, therefore, amounted to 9,775 varas. The Indians had the preference and they chose the eastern valley.[1]

The complete list of beneficiaries to whom lands were assigned on July 12, 1841, is as follows:

Andrés Pico	en cuadro	200 varas
Tomas Gutiérrez	en cuadro	200 varas
Ricardo Peña	en cuadro	150 varas
José Lopez	en cuadro	200 varas
José Antonio Yorba	en cuadro	200 varas
Carlos Silvas	en cuadro	200 varas
Juan M. Marron	en cuadro	200 varas
J. Moreno	en cuadro	200 varas
Zeferino, Neofito, libre (freed)	en cuadro	100 varas
Maria de Jesus, Neofita, libre	en cuadro	200 varas
Rosario de Jesus, Neofito, libre	en cuadro	100 varas
Magdalena, libre	en cuadro	200 varas
Severiano Rios	en cuadro	200 varas
Ramon Silvas	en cuadro	200 varas
Ramon Argüello	en cuadro	200 varas
Santiago Argüello	300 varas largo (long)	200 varas ancho (wide)
Santiago E. Argüello	300 varas largo	200 varas ancho
José Ant. Estudillo	300 varas largo	200 varas ancho
Narciso Botello	300 varas largo	200 varas ancho
Juan Bandini	300 varas largo	200 varas ancho
Augustin Olvera	300 varas large	200 varas ancho
Joaquín de los Rios	en cuadro	200 varas
Antonio F. Coronel	en cuadro	200 varas
José M. Cañedo	en cuadro	200 varas
José Alipás	en cuadro	200 varas
Teodosio Yorba	en cuadro	200 varas

[1] Bancroft, vol. iv, pp. 625-626.

Eugénio Arce	en cuadro	200	varas
Rosário Aguilár	en cuadro	250	varas
José Ant. Serrano	en cuadro	200	varas
Miguel Verdugo	en cuadro	200	varas
Augustin Janssens	en cuardo	150	varas
Feliciano Rojas	en cuadro	100	varas
Antonio Valenzuela	en cuadro	200	varas
Total		7,950	varas [2]

On July 11, 1841, Manuel Castañares, apparently a special commissioner, reported to the governor that the only property belonging to the ex-Mission consisted of five yoke of oxen. It seems there were no debts. Still clinging to the Mission and living in community were 26 married men, 7 widowers, and 5 unmarried men, a total of 38 persons, besides 4 gentiles. Neither women nor children are mentioned. Castañares said he had assembled the people, on the tenth of the month, and had told them that the government was about to give them their liberty, that is to say, to let them shift for themselves. He appointed Julian capitan and alcalde, but told them that till the papers should come they were to live as before.[3]

Hittéll, attorney for Alvarado to the latter's death, relates as follows what happened: "The only one of the ex-Missions that was regularly erected into an Indian puablo was San Juan Capistrano. This was effected in accordance with a series of regulations issued by Alvarado on July 29, 1841. They provided that the Indian population should be organized into a municipality; that distributions of house-lots, cultivatable fields, cattle, agricultural implements and other property should be made, and a regular system of municipal government established. There were various provisions designed to protect the Indians against the whites and to insure their equal rights; and, if either Indians or whites abandoned the lands granted to them for a year, there was to be a forfeiture of such lands, which might then be granted

[2] *Cal Arch., Dept, St. Pap., Juzg.*, vol. xviii, pp. 43-44. Banc. Coll.
[3] Bancroft, vol. iv, p. 626.

VIEW OF SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO TO SOUTHWEST. LONG BUILDING UNROOFED. SANTA FE DEPOT TO LEFT.

by the municipality to other persons. To carry into practical operation the plan thus formed, Juan Bandini was appointed commissioner; and in September he proceeded to the spot. Finding the Indians very much divided in opinion—some being in favor of the new pueblo and some in favor of remaining under the mission system—and wishing to ascertain the strength of the respective parties, he divided them into separate companies and found that those in favor of the pueblo were seventy, while those in favor of the mission were only thirty, chiefly women and very old men. He spoke to the latter, representing the desire of the government that they should be entirely free from tutelage, so as to enjoy for themselves the entire product of their own labors; and in a short time several of the minority passed over and swelled the numbers of the majority. He then, in the presence of them all and in the name of the government, proclaimed that what had theretofore been the mission had become and thereby became the pueblo of San Juan Capistrano; and from that date the new pueblo commenced a sickly kind of existence. In a short time afterwards Bandini resigned. In the returns made two years later, it appeared that of about one hundred and fifty persons, to whom lots had been distributed, sixty-four, including forty-six Indians and all the whites had forfeited their grants." [4]

The regulations issued by Alvarado on July 29, 1841, bore the following title: *Articulos que provisionalmente deben observarse en el nuevo arreglo del establecimiento de San Juan Capistrano.* In substance, these regulations ordered that lands were to be distributed according to the commissioner's judgment until each native could cultivate his own land. As the live stock and implements were not sufficient for distribution, they were to be kept by the commissioner and furnished as they were needed. The orchards and vineyards, the proceeds of which were to be for divine worship and the support of the priest, should be rented by the government in accord with the Father. Manufacturing implements, etc., were to be kept in the rooms where they were then for use of the Indian workmen. The sheep might be intrusted to some person,

[4] *History of California,* vol. ii, pp. 305-306.

who was to receive one-third of the increase and was to deliver the wool for use in the weaving establishment. One-third of the blankets, etc., manufactured were to be delivered to the Father for the use of the poor and aged Indians. Of the buildings, one-third was set aside for the priest's dwelling, one-third for some Indian families, and one-third reserved for the commissioner who could use the apartments for the accomodation of travelers or rent them to white families, the rent, in the latter case, to be applied for repairs. No buildings, not even those in ruins could be sold without authority from the government. The government was to assign lands, outside of those granted to the settlers, for *ejidos* and *propios* of the pueblo. No Indian was allowed to work for a private individual without a *boleta* (written permit) from the *comisionado* expressing the name of the employer. Any lands abandoned by either Indian or white settlers for the space of a year belonged to the pueblo, and it could be rented at a moderate rate, the original owner having the preference. The government was to appoint also a *juez de paz* (justice of peace) who was to be subject to the head district.[5]

Juan Bandini was appointed to supervise the formal foundation of the pueblo, which was to be named San Juan de Argüello, in honor of Don Santiago Argüello and his family.[6] Bandini went to the ex-Mission in September and until March, 1842, remained in charge of the remnant of the Indian property. On October 12, 1841, he reported to Alvarado that he had assembled the Indians and had found that seventy desired a pueblo, while thirty old men and women were opposed to the change. After he had talked to the latter, some of them submitted and went over to the majority. Bandini then formally, declared the ex-Mission a pueblo. It is a pity that the exact date of this announcement is not recorded. Perhaps no one was proud of the transaction; otherwise, we think, there would have been an annual celebration, although scrupulously honest people would have refrained from participating in the glorification of the veiled

[5] *Cal Arch., Dept. St. Pap.*, vol. xviii, pp. 304-309.

[6] The impudent substitution of Argüello for Capistrano did not take root. The place is called San Juan Capistrano to the present day.

wholesale theft. Bandini found that Janssens had encouraged the Indians to oppose the change. For this reason he removed him from the office of mayordomo and re-appointed Santiago Argüello, although at this time only the few ex-neophytes and four or five white families, who had lived at San Juan Capistrano for some time, occupied the lands allotted to them. Only 325 sheep and 146 horses are reported. The pueblo was badly demoralized, Bandini declared, previous to his departure in March, 1842, since scoundrels had entered under the pretence of being settlers; vice and crime, he admitted, were rampant.

On March 7, 1842, Juan Bandini surrendered everything to Fr. Zalvidea; but the latter would have nothing to do with the property and therefore re-appointed Janssens, whom Bandini recognized as *encargado de policia* (charged to maintain the public order). In this sense the appointment was approved by the prefect of the district.[7] On April 23, Agustin Olvera was appointed justice of the peace of San Juan *de Argüello* with Santiago Rios as substitute. December 10, Olvera and Rios were re-appointed for the year 1843 by the prefect; but in January, 1843, Olvera declined to serve. His refusal was not accepted, however, and he was in office the following June when he sent a list of settlers who had failed to occupy the lands allotted to them. At the same time, he again asked to be relieved of his office. Rosário Aguilár appears to have then been appointed his successor, because in August following he pleaded incapacity and asked to be replaced.[8]

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[7] *Cal Arch., Dept. St. Pap., Angeles,* vol. vi, p. 108. Banc. Coll.

[8] Bancroft, vol. iv. pp. 626-627.

CHAPTER XVII

Bandini's Confession.—The Pious Fund.—Doctrine of Liberalism.—Duflot Mofras's Description and Foolish Figures.—Three Pathetic Letters.

ON January 2, 1842, at Los Angeles, Juan Bandini drew up a report which is nothing less than an open confession that the administrator system and the emancipation plan had proved a complete failure. Addressing Don Manuel Jimeno, Alvarado's secretary, Bandini wrote:

"Despite my illness, on feeling somewhat relieved, I presented myself at San Juan Capistrano for the purpose of better examining what an appearance the new settlement had. But in truth, I was grieved on observing that, far from bringing any advantage, the forming of the place into a pueblo resulted in a complete demoralization of the Indians.[1] In addition, it had afforded shelter to some knaves who introduced themselves under the pretext that they were settlers and were under the protection of the guarantees offered by a new settlement. Hence it is that thieving, drunkenness, and some other deeds deserving to be styled crimes are happening in said San Juan (Capistrano). The only thing that I ventured to do as comisionado was to make so many drones leave the place. For this class of people, however, physical force is necessary, because I was told that they had come to enjoy the benefits of the new settlement.

"By the Regulation of the government of the territory, contained in the last Article, a justice of the peace has been conceded to this place. Unfortunately, the fulfillment of this order is still pending. Unless I am badly mistaken, however, I do not think that it will be easy to find at this place a person of sound honesty, except one or the other individual who may be considered settlers (vecinos) of the place. It would be hiding the truth from the government, if I were to keep silence on the judgment I

[1] "lo que se ha conseguido es una demoralizacion completa de los Indios."

formed after making the observations. Therefore I take the liberty of manifesting it, not as if it were infallible but in order that Your Honor may form an opinion according to your prudence.

"It is my opinion, then, that the request to change San Juan (Capistrano) into a pueblo did not lack a basis; but it was a basis full of error, caused by the conditions of the gloomy year 1840 to 1841, during the period of floods. The request was hailed with raptures as a new idea which is generally full of novelties. Hence it came to pass, we may suppose considerately, that a portion of men presented themselves, whose subscriptions in favor of such a project it was flattering to see. But as time went on and the year improved, the spell of enthusiasm also passed. Thus the picture which at first appeared beautiful, became a horrible monster when viewed in the light of the improved season and of the most favorable circumstances which might be in proportion to this improved season.

"In addition to this, occurred the arrival of the Bishop of the Californias who, it is believed and I myself may be in the same error, may in some way interfere with the affairs of the missions. For this reason things are in a state of suspension. My reason for thinking so rests on what the governor himself has told me; namely, that he was expecting orders from the Supreme Government of Mexico which he had consulted on that very subject. Inasmuch as I know that the Pious Fund is at the disposal of said Bishop and that he has authority also over the missionary Fathers as their Superior General, I have suspected that, in accord with the government of the territory, reforms will be introduced which may be most expedient for the preservation of the property of the California missions." Thoroughly disgusted, Bandini then offered his resignation as comisionado of San Juan Capistrano.[2]

In reply to the above letter, Manuel Jimeno, the governor's secretary, informed Bandini, on March 30, 1842, that his resignation was accepted, and that he was to turn over the management

[2] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. xi, pp. 586-589; *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles,* vol. vi, pp. 789-790.

of the Mission to Agustin Olvera. The latter was notified to that effect on the same day.[3]

In the same month of March, 1842, there was some talk of rebuilding the destroyed church; but nothing came of it.[4]

The Bandini-Alvarado-Pico crowd were doomed to bitter disappointment in their aspirations regarding the Pious Fund. The Bishop refused to waste money, donated for religious purposes, in order that free-booters might the more surely thrive on their ill-gotten goods. Nor was he at liberty to use the funds for other purposes than those intended by the donors more than a century before. As a matter of fact, the Bishop himself in the end never received as much as a penny from the Pious Fund, although it had been promised him; for it was confiscated by Santa Anna, the President of Mexico, and consigned to the bottomless treasury of that unhappy republic, where it did no more good than stolen money generally does to unscrupulous thieves.[5]

If Alvarado had any sense of shame left, he must have winced when he learned the results of his scheme to enjoy with his fellow conspirators the property that belonged to the convert Indians. But these mission despoilers had so effectively smothered the voice of conscience by reading the works of infidel Liberals that they seem to have argued themselves into the godless belief of the Liberal School, which maintains that the Creator possesses no property rights under Liberal rule. Otherwise, we can not comprehend how these men dared to alienate property that, according to Spanish laws, belonged solely to Religion.

It was in January, 1842, at a time when poor Mission San Juan Capistrano had reached that period or degradation which Bandini and others described, that the French traveler Duflot Mofras visited the place. He writes: "Mission San Juan Capistrano was founded on November 1, 1776, by the apostolic Fr. Junípero Serra. It is situated in a beautiful plain about one league from the ocean, on the bank of a little stream which never runs dry.

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[3] *Cal. Arch., Dept. Rec.*, vol. xii, pp. 173-174.

[4] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, vol. vi, pp. 793-795.

[5] For the history of the Pious Fund and its vicissitudes see *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. i, and vol. ii.

CORRIDORS OF PATIO BEFORE RESTORATION. POZOLERA CHIMNEY. TOP OF SANTUARY OF STONE CHURCH.

It has a tolerably good anchorage against the winds which blow from east to west. San Juan Capistrano is an establishment which is in a most ruinous condition, despite the efforts made by its Spanish missionary, Fr. José Maria Zalvidea, to arrest its destruction. Formerly the Mission counted nearly 2,000 Indians, 70,000 head of cattle, 2,000 horses, more than 10,000 sheep, harvested 10,000 fanegas of grain, and manufactured 500 barrels of wine and brandy.[6] To-day the Mission has only 100 Indians, 500 head of cattle, 150 horses, not one sheep; its crop amounted to only 300 fanegas of grain, while it has 50 or 60 barrels of wine.[7]

"The rancho of Agua Caliente, about four leagues toward the east-northeast, has a spring of nitre water.[8] The beautiful farms of Trabuco, Ciénaga, and San Mateo have been given to private individuals.

"Like other Missions, San Juan Capistrano had its tanneries and soap factories. A Frenchman (Belgian), Janssens by name, resides at the Mission and conducts a small commercial business." [9]

The subjoined pathetic letters of Fr. Zalvidea tell their own story. Hence we reproduce them without comment.

"Blessed be Jesus, Mary, and Joseph!

Mission San Juan Capistrano, April 26, 1842.

"Reverend Father Prefect, Fr. Narciso Durán.

"Very Reverend Superior:—Since the last of December until the Second Easter Day (Monday), I have been in bed, unable to get on my feet, in consequence of an inflamation in the soles and insteps of my feet. Thanks be to God, I can stand on my feet, a while, though only with difficulty, in order to celebrate holy Mass. Don Juan Leandro proposed that I repair to his Rancho de Coyotes where he would construct a chapel and where I could administer spiritual sustenance to the many servants he has, as also

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[6] These figures are all absurdly exaggerated. We refer the reader to the tabulated reports at the close of the volume.

[7] This statement, too, is incorrect, as may be gathered from one of the letters of Fr. Zalvidea immediately following.

[8] "une source d'eau nitrée."

[9] *Exploration,* vol. i, pp. 347-348.

to the neighboring Ranchos of white people and of Christian Indians employed by them. I told him that I am a son of obedience and that, if Your Reverence were so to ordain, I should obey with pleasure. Certainly, as far as I myself am concerned, it would be more acceptable to be associated with a priest on account of spiritual assistance; in any case, however, I place myself at your disposal.

"Don Juan Bandini had been appointed by the governor to take charge of this Mission. Finding myself exposed to the danger of being robbed of the money or alms which I had and having no way of depositing it with the Sindico, I placed it into his (Bandini's) hands in the shape of a deposit. There were 111 ounces in gold, of which two ounces may have been expended during my illness. For this reason I ask the Sindico to demand it of the said Bandini. During the time I had the administration of this Mission, it contracted a debt with Don Tomás Ochoa and Mr. Wilman (Virmond?), and the administrators who succeeded me have not paid it. For this reason, my conscience troubles me, lest the creditors be defrauded, who placed faith in us that they would be paid back. Therefore, if Your Reverence deems it proper, I propose that from my account and even from the cattle they be paid what is coming to them from the Mission, for the Mission itself has not wherewith to pay. All this I leave to the disposition of Your Reverence and of the Sindico, that you may order according to your pleasure. The least of your subjects, Q. B. S.M., Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea.[10]

"Blessed be Jesus, Mary, and Joseph!

Mission San Juan Capistrano, June 13, 1842.

"Reverend Fr. Narciso Durán, Reverend dear Father Superior:—Señor Agustin Olvera, who is justice of the peace here and in charge of this Mission, petitions that he be dispensed from the three canonical banns of the Sacrament of Matrimony which he contemplates with Concepcion Argüello, single, and daughter of Santiago Argüello and Pilár Ortega, and that his petition be directed to the Rt. Rev. Bishop. At the juridical examination, no

[10] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

impediment was discovered. He asks that I petition Your Reverence to intercede that his request be granted.

"I am enfeebled with ailments. In virtue of the account of the alms given me, I have authorized Don José de Noriega,[11] our Síndico, to make demands upon Señor Bandini, to whom I had entrusted the alms in the quality of a deposit. Said Señor Bandini is ready to deliver the money to the person whom Señor Noriega may designate. I am here without chocolate. This Mission has no wheat, no wine, nor brandy. The circumstances of my debility require strengthening nourishment. Therefore, the Sindico will please furnish those necessaries. Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea.

P. D.—In keeping with the truth, I must say that Don Agustin Olvera finds the Mission without wheat, wine, or brandy, with no wheat sown, and with the vineyard dried up (helada). Of his own means, he has provided me with the necessaries, and has cared for me as well as he could. He finds no cattle, nor sheep, nor anything.—Fr. J. M. Zalvidea.[12]

"Blessed be Jesus, Mary, Joseph!

Mission San Juan Capistrano, June 30, 1842.

Reverend Father Prefect, Fr. Narciso Durán.

Reverend dear Father Superior:—In reply to your esteemed letter of the seventeenth of the present month, I must say I have not received the order which the Señor Síndico delivered to Señores Tapia and Robinson in order to collect the said account (pecúlio) which was deposited at the house of Señor Abel (Stearns), who resides in the Pueblo of Los Angeles and with whom Señor Bandini placed what I had given to him in the quality of a deposit. My not having received either from Your Reverence or from the Señor Síndico the order to that effect was the reason why said Señor Abel did not make the surrender. Likewise, I was ignorant of the order which the Señor Síndico issued to that effect.

"Now that one comes from the Rev. Fr. Tomás (Esténaga) that

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[11] José de la Guerra of Santa Barbara, who was the Síndico or depositary of the friars.

[12] "De ganado vacuno, ni lanar, nada ha encontrado."—*Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

he may receive the money from Señor Abel, I am with great pleasure writing to said Father and enclosing the letter with the order so that it may be delivered to him. I place all the money that I have with the Sindico; and in my keeping only two dollars remain which were given me these days for two holy Masses and which will serve to repay those who are caring for me. In this way I shall not find myself obliged to make loans, which sometimes I am constrained to make out of compassion aroused in me by the needs of my neighbors. Such was the case a few days ago with the loan of $100, which I made to Don Agustin Olvera who supplicated me for that amount, in order that he make chocolate and purchase sugar for the commodities of his wedding with Concepción Argüello. They may have told Your Reverence that it went for chocolate for my own use. Certain it is, however, that it did not. But our Brother Sindico will please not fail to provide it, so that in this as also in the way of smoking tobacco and other necessaries he may help me. Of the lack of bread and liquors for the table we shall not speak. I am sure that, when there were liquors, those in attendance would not have been able to prove that I exceeded the bounds of sobriety and temperance.

"Years have passed since I made known to Your Reverence the desires I had to retire to the cloister, because I was failing in health and because I wished to end this pilgrimage among the brethern in the convent, where I should find greater consolations and more corporal and spiritual assistance. Notwithstanding these my desires and that Your Reverence admitted they could not in justice be denied me, I conformed with what Your Reverence intimated to me, namely, to remain in the territory.

"I acknowledge the kindness which you are extending to me in giving me the choice of either proceeding to Mission San Luis Rey or going to Los Coyotes with Leandro. For me it would be more advantageous to be associated with a priest. Still, I wish that Your Reverence order me to where you deem it more expedient that I go, because I believe this to be the most secure and proper choice. Command at all times your least brother and subject, etc. Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea.[13]

[13] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*, ad annum.

CHAPTER XVIII.

San Juan Capistrano's Degradation.—Governor Micheltorena's Decree.—Pio Pico's Determination.—His Illegal Decree.—Invalid Deed.—Pio Retires.—Major W. H. Emory's Account.—His Opinion on the Ownership of the Mission Property.

FR. ZALVIDEA remained at Mission San Juan Capistrano till near the close of 1842. His last entry in the Baptismal Register, under number 4,587, is dated November 25; while in the Burial Register, his last entry, number 3,413, occurs under date of July 29, 1842. After his departure for Mission San Luis Rey, there was no resident priest at San Juan Capistrano until June or July, 1846. From the end of 1842, not much is known as to what happened at this Mission. The covetous Californians had done their worst; while the other missionary establishments continued somewhat longer, San Juan Capistrano was strangled much earlier. With few exceptions, the Indians, now a mongrel set, proved to be the worst of their kind. Needless to say, this was owing to the bad example set them by vicious white neighbors and vagabonds. In 1841, Santiago Argüello, then prefect of the Southern District at Los Angeles, complained to Don José de la Guerra that "the unfortunate missions of San Gabriel and San Juan Capistrano had been converted into brothels of the mayordomos."[1] Yet, under the absolute rule of the early Fathers, these very neophytes had been the very best and the most fervent. According to the testimony of some, half a dozen white families and about twenty or so Indian families were living at San Juan Capistrano, if not prosperously, at least somewhat quietly. But quite the reverse is the testimony of others regarding conditions at that time; namely, under the justices of peace Olvera (1842-1843), Rosário Aguilár (1843-1844), Emígdio Véjar (1844-1845), and John Forster, who began his term in July, 1845.[2]

[1] "Porque no se echa una mirada a las desventuradas misiones de San Gabriel y San Juan Capistrano? Estas se han convertido en lupanares de los señores mayordomos."—*De la Guerra Papers,* vol. vii, pp. 82-83. Bancroft Collection.

[2] Bancroft, vol. iv, p. 627.

The Mission obtained a new lease on life in 1843; but it was of little avail and soon the once prosperous establishment and Indian asylum died an inglorious death, never to be revived to its one-time splendor. Ignoring the turning of the Mission into a pueblo, Manuel Micheltorena, the new governor and the last appointed by the Mexican Government, issued a decree on March 26, 1843, whereby he restored to Franciscan management this Mission, like other establishments, together with what was left of the fields and stock. On April 3, of the same year, he directed the administrators of the various Missions to surrender the property and to render an account of their management.[3]

By issuing this decree Micheltorena, like Victoria in 1831, incurred the implacable hatred of the *paisano* chiefs and their henchmen. His act was like snatching a bone from a hungry dog. Led by Pio Pico, they rested not till, in March, 1845, they had banished the governor from the country. The pretexts they offered to the people were too flimsy to conceal their shameful motive. Pio Pico now became governor, and he speedily and openly declared that he was determined to wipe out the mission system at all hazards. In this declaration he was shrewd enough to suppress the real motive which was no other than that the mission system stood in the way of his insatiable greed. Only three weeks after securing control of the government Pico took steps to carry out his scheme of wiping out the Missions.[4] At San Juan Capistrano, this wiping-out process was not a difficult task; for no priest resided there, and the property had long before been alienated, except the church with the adjoining buildings, the cemetery, the garden and the orchards. Yet Pio Pico did not regard even this as sacred and inviolable.

At the request of the Mexican Government, Fr. Comisário-Prefecto Narciso Durán, under date of March 18, 1844, reported on the state of all the Missions in Upper California. Regarding Mission San Juan Capistrano, he makes the laconical remarks, "This Mission is actually abandoned for want of a priest, and its neo-

[3] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 276-278.

[4] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, p. 351; 337-342.

phytes are scattered and demoralized."[5] A glorious achievement for only ten years of young Californian domination! Let the reader compare it with the official reports compiled while the missionaries were in control.

Nevertheless, the Pico crowd was not satisfied. The wiping-out process was not yet complete. Accordingly, Pio Pico had his subservient legislature pass a decree on May 28, 1845, for the "Renting of Some and the Converting of Other Missions into Pueblos."[6] This measure, even according to Hittéll, meant their final extinction. At last, on October 28, 1845, Pico issued a proclamation ordering the sale by public auction of various missions and of portions of others. Among the latter was San Juan Capistrano.[7] "By the same proclamation," to use the words of the anti-Catholic historian Hittell, "the Indians were declared free from their neophytism and at liberty to establish themselves as they might please. Some few police regulations were added for those who should choose to remain at the old establishments; but they were no longer neophytes or, so to speak, children of the missions. By this proclamation, therefore, the mission system or all that remained of it may be said to have been destroyed and the missions as such totally extinguished."[8]

At last, Mission San Juan Capistrano came to an end. On December 4, 1845, it was sold at public auction by Pio Pico to John Forster, his brother-in-law,[9] and James McKinley. Two days later, on December 6, Pico handed over to Forster and McKinley the title deed to a portion of the principal building, to the furniture thereof, and to three gardens, for which they paid him $710, partly in cash and partly with hides and tallow.[10] Thus,

[5] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, p. 323.

[6] *Missions and Missionaries,* iv, 373-375; Hittéll, ii, 382.

[7] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 445-450.

[8] *California,* vol. ii, p. 383.

[9] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 458, 460.—John Forster had married Pico's sister Isidora, in 1837.

[10] "En 6 de Diciembre Pio Pico dió titulo de venta a Juan Forster y Santiago Mckinley por compra que estos hicieron de la parte del edificio principal de la Mision de San Juan Capistrano, y tres huertas y muebles de ella pagando a plazo $710 en monedas, cueros y sebos." -*Cal. arch., Unbound Documents,* pp. 390-391. Bancroft Collection.

REAR CORRIDOR BEFORE RESTORATION

with Missions Purisima and San Luis Obispo, San Juan Capistrano shared the humiliation of being the first to pass under the hammer of the auctioneer. How would Fr. Junípero Serra, its founder, have felt, if he had witnessed this shameful end of the work he had so auspiciously begun on November 1, 1776?

John Forster had been in control of the Mission since July 11, 1845, when Emígdio Véjar, the mayordomo, was ordered to deliver to him the Mission of San Juan Capistrano and all that belonged to it.[11]

In March, 1846, the *Padron* or roll of the ex-Mission population contained the names of 59 males and 54 females, in all 113 persons, including the Forster family.[12]

Pico had evicted the missionaries and their Indian wards from the homes they had reared for themselves by their industry. Soon the time came when he would have gladly accepted their hospitality, had they but existed as of yore. On July 7, 1846, at Monterey, the United States flag was planted on California soil, unfortunately thirteen years too late to save the Missions. With the appearance of the United States troops began respect for the property of Religion in the territory, as will be made clear presently.

After the Americans had taken possession of the chief towns, and while their troops, in August, 1846, were marching on to Los Angeles, Pio Pico, the last and the most inglorious governor under Mexican rule, in the night of August 10, left Los Angeles, after issuing a proclamation,[13] in which he denounced the United States and pompously declared that "between ignominy and emigration he chose the latter." He passed that night at the Yorba Rancho. Next day he went to San Juan Capistrano where, in the vicinity of his Ranch of Santa Margarita, he was concealed by his brother-in-law, John Forster, for about a month. The fugitive escaped into Lower California, on September 7, 1846, but returned two years later with ridiculous pretensions.[14] After that, little is recorded about San Juan Capistrano as regards temporal affairs.

[11] *Cal. Arch., Dept. Rec.*, vol. xiv, p. 63. Bancroft Collection.

[12] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap.*, vol. viii, pp. 492-493.

[13] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 559-560.

[14] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, p. 632.

The following notes, which throw much light on the situation, are from the diary of Major W. H. Emory, who was with the United States troops under General S. W. Kearny and Commodore R. F. Stockton, when they marched on to Los Angeles. Major Emory writes:

"January 3, 1847.—After marching a few miles (from San Luis Rey), the wide Pacific opened to our view. We passed the Santa Margarita Rancheria, once a dependency of San Luis Rey, now in the possession of the Pico family. We encamped near Flores, a deserted mission(!). Just below it, and near the ocean, is an Indian village. Cattle were seen in great numbers to-day, and several well broken pairs of oxen were picked up on the way. Distance 10.5 miles.

"January 4.—After leaving Flores a few miles, the high broken ground projects close in upon the sea, leaving a narrow, un-even banquette, along which the road winds through growth of chapparal. Here we met three persons, bearing a flag of truce; one was an Englishman, named Workman, another Fluge, a German, the third a Californian. They brought a letter from Flores, who signed himself governor and captain general of the department of California, proposing to suspend hostilities in California, and leave the battle to be fought elsewhere between the United States and Mexico, upon which was to depend the fate of California. There was a great deal of other matter in the letter, useless to repeat. The commission returned with a peremptory refusal of the proposition of the governor and Captain General Flores.

"After going nine miles from Flores, the high land impinges so close upon the sea that the road lies along the sea beach for a distance of eight miles. Fortunately for us the tide was out, and we had the advantage of a hard, smooth road. This pass presents a formidable military obstacle, and in the hands of an intrepid and skillful enemy, we could have been severely checked, if not beaten back from it; but we passed unmolested, and encamped late at night on an open plain at the mouth of the stream leading from the Mission of San Juan Capistrano, and about two miles from the mission. Distance 18.8 miles.

"January 5.—The Mission of San Juan Capistrano has passed

into the hands of the Pico family. The cathedral was once a fine strong building, with an arched cupola; only one-half of the building, capped by a segment of the cupola, is now standing, the other part having been thrown down by an earthquake in the year 1812, killing some thirty or forty persons who had fled to it for refuge.

"Attracted by a house having a brush fence round the door, as if to keep out intruders, I was told there were four men within, in the agonies of death, from wounds received at the battle of San Pasqual. We moved to the Alisos rancheria, where we found a spring of good water, but nothing to eat. Through the kindness of Mr. Forster, an Englishman, we received here a supply of fresh horses. The road was principally through the valley of the stream watering the Mission. On each side were beautiful rounded hills, covered with a delicate tinge of green grass, which was now sprouting freely near the sea coast. Up to this point, except a small patch at Flores, I had not seen the mark of a plough or any other instrument of husbandry. The rancherias were entirely supported by rearing cattle and horses. Distance 11.1 miles.

"January 18, 19 and 20.—I received special orders which separated me from the command, and the party of topographical engineers that had been so long under my orders. . . . Leaving General Kearny at San Juan Capistrano, on his return to San Diego, I took three men and pushed on for the latter place."

Major Emory was the first American to express his opinion frankly on the ownership of the Missions, and he had the distinction of seeing his views adopted by the Courts and the Government of the United States. While the little army was encamped at San Luis Rey, Emory, in his *Notes* (p. 117), put down his impressions as follows:

"This Mission of San Luis Rey (and the same was true of San Juan Capistrano) was, until the invasion of California by the Americans, in 1846, considered as public property. Just before that event took place, a sale was made of it for a small consideration, by the Mexican authorities, to some of their own people, who felt their power passing away, and wished to turn an *honest penny* whilst their power was left; but *this sale was undoubtedly*

REAR CORRIDOR AFTER RESTORATION BY LANDMARKS CLUB.

fraudulent, and will, I trust, not be acknowledged by the American Government. Many other Missions have been transferred in the same way; and the new government of California must be very pure in its administration to avoid the temptations which these fictitious sales, made by the retiring Mexican authorities, offer for accumulating large fortunes at the expense of the government.[15]

The United States Land Commission, appointed to examine the land cases in California, on December 18, 1855, declared Pio Pico's sale of the Mission property illegal. Likewise the United States District Court declared that Pico had no authority to sell the Missions. Accordingly, the churches, the adjacent dwellings, the cemeteries, the orchards, gardens, and vineyards, which in Spanish Law, recognized by the Land Commission and the United States Court, were regarded as belonging to the Catholic Church and needed for the maintenance of Divine Worship, were by United States Patent restored to the Catholic Church,[16] as the reader will learn in the next chapter.

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[15] *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance,* Washington, D. C., 1848, pp. 117-118; 123.

[16] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 733-771.

CHAPTER XIX.

United States Patent Restoring the Mission Property.—The Law on the Subject.—The Survey.—The Tracts of Land Restored.—President Abraham Lincoln's Signature the Last Act in the Drama.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

To All To Whom These Presents Shall Come, Greeting.

Whereas it appears from a duly authenticated transcript filed in the General Land Office of the United States that persuant to the provisions of the Act of Congress approved the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one entitled "An Act to ascertain and settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California", Joseph Sadoc Alemany, Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Monterey, in the State of California, as claimant, filed his petition on the 19th day of February, 1853, with the Commissioners to ascertain and settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California sitting as a board in the City of San Francisco, in which petition he claimed the confirmation to him and his successors of the title to certain church property in California, "to be held by him and them in trust for the religious purposes and uses to which the same have been respectively appropriated", said property consisting of "church edifices, houses, for the use of the clergy and those employed in the service of the church, church yards, burial grounds, gardens, orchards, and vineyards with the necessary buildings thereon and appurtenances", the same having been recognized as the property of said church by the laws of Mexico in force at the time of the cession of California to the United States, and whereas the Board of Land Commissioners aforesaid on the 18th day of December, 1855, rendered a decree of confirmation in favor of the petitioner for certain lands described therein to be held "in the capacity and for uses set forth in his petition", the lands at the Mission San Juan Capistrano being described in said decree as follows: The Church and the buildings nearby adjoining thereto, built in a quadrangular

form, which are known as the Church and Mission Buildings of San Juan Capistrano situated in Los Angeles County, together with the land on which the same are erected, and the curtilage and appurtenances thereto belonging, and the enclosed Cemetery which adjoins the same. Also, two enclosed gardens, known as the gardens of said Mission, both being within five hundred yards of said buildings, and in an easterly and southeasterly direction therefrom, and being the same which are delineated and designed as "Orchard" and "Orchard and Garden", on Map numbered 3 in the Atlas above mentioned. And whereas it further appears from a certified transcript filed in the General Land Office, that an appeal from said decree or decision of the Commissioners having been taken on behalf of the United States to the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of California, and it being shown to the Court that it was not the intention of the United States to prosecute further said appeal, the said District Court on the 15th of March, 1858, at the regular term "ordered that said appeal be dismissed and said appellee have leave to proceed under the decree of the said Land Commissioners in his favor as a final decree." And whereas, under the 13th Section of the said Act of 3rd March, 1851, there have been presented to the Commissioner of the General Land Office a plat and certificate of the survey of the tract of lands confirmed and authenticated on the 10th day of July, 1860, by the signature of the Surveyor General of the Public Lands in California the requirements of the Act of Congress approved 14th June, 1860, in regard to the publication of surveys having been complied with in this case, which plat and certificate are in the words and figures following, to-wit:

"United States Surveyor General's Office,
San Francisco, California.

" Under and by virtue of the provisions of the 13th section of " the Act of Congress of the 3rd of March, 1851, entitled An Act " to ascertain and settle Private Land Claims in the State of " California, and of the 12th section of the Act of Congress ap- " proved on the 31st of August, 1852, entitled An Act making ap- " propriations for the Civil and Diplomatic expenses of the Gov-

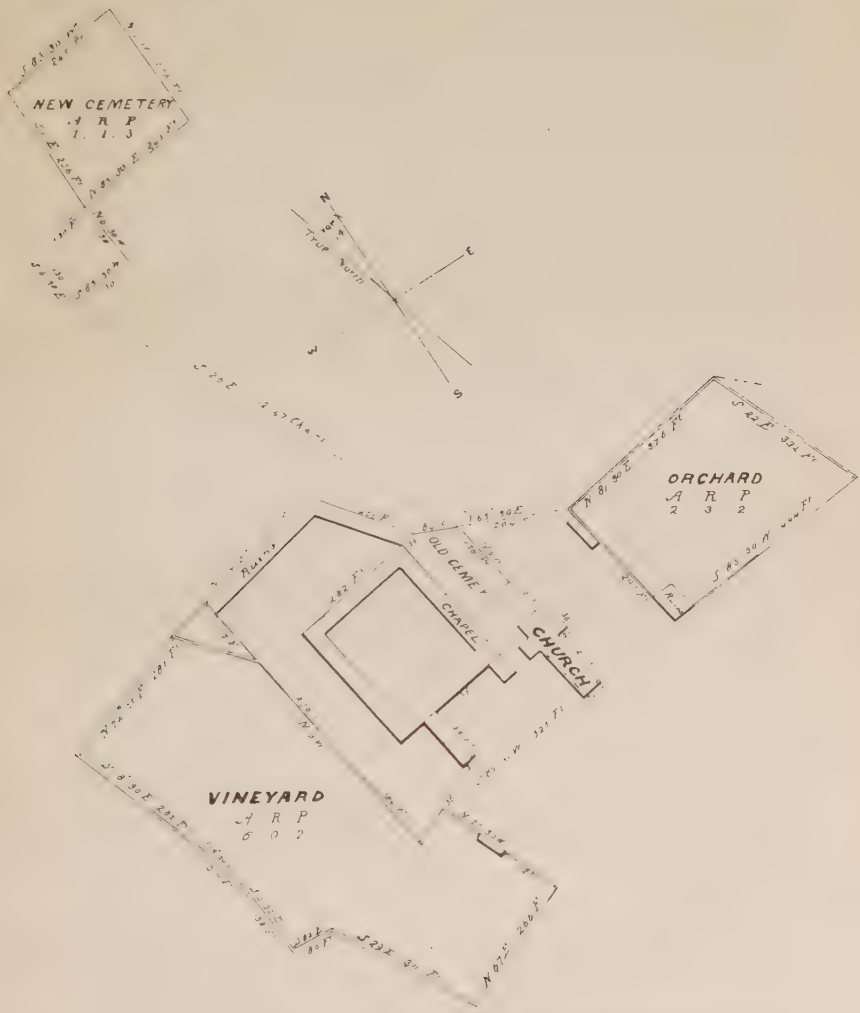
" ernment for the year ending the thirtieth of June, eighteen " hundred and fifty-three and for purposes, and in consequence of " a certificate of the United States District Court for the Southern " District of California, of which a copy is annexed having been " filed in this office, whereby it appears that the Attorney Gen- " eral of the United States having given notice that it was not the " intention of the United States to prosecute the appeal from the " decision of the United States Board of Land Commissioners ap- " pointed under the said Act of March 3rd, 1851, by which it " recognized and confirmed the title and claim of Joseph S. Ale- " many, Bishop, etc., to the tracts of land designed as the "Mis- " sion of San Juan Capistrano", the said appeal has been vacated, " and thereby the said decision in favor of said Joseph S. Ale- " many, Bishop, etc., has become final.

" The said tracts have been surveyed in conformity with the " grant thereof, and the said decision, and I do hereby certify the " annexed Map to be a true and accurate plat of the said tracts " of land, as appears by the field notes of the survey thereof, made " by Henry Hancock, Deputy Surveyor, in the month of February, " 1860, under the directions of this Office, which, having been " examined and approved, are now on file therein.

" And I do further certify, that under and by virtue of the said " confirmation and survey, the said Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop, " etc., is entitled to a Patent from the United States, upon the " presentation hereof to the General Land Office, for the said " tracts of land, the same being bounded and described as fol- " lows, to-wit:

Here follow the survey and a minute description of the various tracts of land which would be of little interest to the ordinary reader. This part of the document has therefore been omitted. The engraving accompanying this pictures the situation sufficiently clear withal.

From the surveyor's report, however, we learn that five tracts of land were restored to the claimant, Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany. The first, Tract No. 1, comprises the plot covered by the Mission Buildings together with the vineyard on the left of the quadrangle. This tract contains ten and sixty-two hundreds acres.



PRINCIPAL PORTION OF THE LANDS RESTORED TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Tract No. II is a lot, 12.75 chains northward from the rear wall of the cemetery, on the brow of the hill, which contains twenty-hundreds of an acre.

Tract No. III adjoins the preceding Tract No. II on the northeast, and contains sixty-three hundreds of an acre. The drawing made in the Surveyor General's Office, San Francisco, in 1904, designates it as New Cemetery.

Tract No. IV is situated across the road to the east of the stone church, and is designated as Orchard. It comprises two and ninety-nine hundreds acres.

Tract No. V, which lay some distance to the southeast of the stone church, comprised twenty-nine and ninety-six hundreds acres. It was designated as Vineyard and Orchard.

The document then continues:

" In witness whereof, I have signed my name, and caused
(Seal) " the Seal of the said Office to be affixed, at the City of
" San Francisco, this tenth day of July, 1860.
" J. W. MANDEVILLE, U. S. Surveyor General, California.

" And whereas there has been deposited in the General Land " Office of the United States a certificate dated June 27th, 1863, " from the Clerk of the United States District Court for the " Southern District of California, showing that in the cause enti- " tled "J. S. Alemany et al Appellees ads. the United States appel- " lants," due notice by publication in manner and form as required " by the law has been made by the Surveyor General of the United " States for California in the matter of the approved survey of the " Mission "San Juan Capistrano," confirmed to the claimant and " Appellee in the above entitled cause of "J. S. Alemany vs. The " United States," and "that the full period of six months from and " after the completion of said publication has elapsed and no ob- " jection thereto having been made or filed, the said approved " survey has become final, and the claimant and Appellee entitled " to a Patent" for the said Mission.

NOW KNOW YE,

That the United States of America, in consideration of the premises and pursuant to the provisions of the Act of Congress aforesaid of 3rd of March 1851, HAVE GIVEN AND GRANTED, and by

these presents DO GIVE AND GRANT, unto the said Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop of Monterey and to his successors, "in trust for the religious purposes and uses to which the same have been respectively appropriated," the tracts of land embraced and described in the foregoing survey, but with the stipulation that in virtue of the 15th section of the said Act, the confirmation of this said claim and this patent "shall not affect the interests of third persons,"

To Have and To Hold the said tracts of lands with the appurtenances, and with the stipulation aforesaid, unto the said Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop of Monterey, and to his successors, in trust for the uses and purposes as aforesaid.

In testimony whereof I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, have caused these letters to be made patent, and the Seal of the General Land Office to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand at the City of Washington, this eighteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord One
(Seal) Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty Five, and of the Independence of the United States the Eighty Ninth.

By the President.

A. Lincoln

J. N. Granger, Recorder of the General Land Office.

Recorded Vol. 4, pages 154 to 163, inclusive.

Recorded December 15th, A.D. 1875, at 3 P.M. in Book I of Patents, pages 583 et seq., Los Angeles County Records, by request of Rt. Rev. Bishop T. Amat.

J. W. GILLETTE,
County Recorder, Los Angeles County.

CHAPTER XX.

Life at the Mission.—Mission Register.—First Entries.—Important Entry No. 40.—Fr. Serra Administers Confirmation.—His Second Visit.—The Original Chapel.—The Banner Year.—Conditions for Reception of Baptism.—Labor Involved.—Earthquake.—Rich Harvest.—New Baptistry.

ALTHOUGH the Franciscan missionaries of the early days were averse to heralding their deeds beyond what the Spanish Government demanded, their life and activity at the Missions is fairly well known from the regulations that governed the establishments. The routine was not left to the notions or whims of the individual missionary, by any means, but was prescribed by the Franciscan College of San Fernando that furnished missionaries for California. These and other regulations were the fruit of the friars' experience in the Missions of Texas and Mexico, and naturally flowed from the object of the Indian Missions, which was to transform idle, superstitious, and unruly savages into genuine Christians and useful citizens. Hence we have the wonderful Mission System, the effects of which may be observed in the descendants of the neophytes, particularly in those living in communities or reservations of San Diego County.

As these regulations were uniformly observed at all the Missions, it is not necessary to repeat them here. Full details regarding food, clothing, industries, amusements, religious instructions and exercises; implements, tools, and products of the fields, gardens, and shops; flocks and herds; all this will be found in the writer's General History,[1] and also in his San Diego Mission History.

The convert Indians were very happy under the mild rule of the Fathers. Had not the greed and the vices of white men contaminated the Christianized Indians, driven them from their homes, and actually wiped them out, especially the San Juan Capistrano neophytes, their happiness might have continued indefinitely, because "their labor was light," as Forbes avers, "and

[1] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 242-275; 552-574.

they had much leisure time to waste in their beloved inaction, or in the rude pastimes of their aboriginal state."[2] This statement of Forbes completely refutes Echeandia and his motly following of mission enemies among the *paisanos*. The tabular reports of the spiritual and material activities at the Missions also reveal what many words could not tell so graphically. Those of Mission San Juan Capistrano are incorporated in this and the next chapters.

Much of the inner work of the Missions may be learned from the Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials. These are still preserved and carefully guarded at the Mission. Like those of all the other missionary establishments, they are folio volumes bound in flexible leather covers. The title pages of the three volumes were written by Fr. Junípero Serra himself. The one of the Baptisimal Register the reader will find translated in the second chapter of this volume.

Four native children were the first fruits of the Mission[3] and in fact the only ones before the close of the year 1776. The fifth entry records the Baptism of an Indian adult forty-six years of age, who was baptized by Fr. Mugártegui on January 4, 1777. He was the first convert to receive the name of the Mission's patron saint, Juan Capistrano.

Entry number 40, made on December 2, 1777, thirteen months after the founding of the Mission, is particularly interesting and important inasmuch as on this occasion Fr. Mugártegui and the Fathers ever after state that the Sacrament was administered *en la Iglesia de esta Mision—in the church of this Mission*. All the preceding entries, except the first where Fr. Amúrrio was pleased to call the primitive shack *Iglesia*, read simply *solemnemente—solemnly*, without specifying the place. This would go to show that the first permanent adobe church building had been finished by that date, December 2, 1777, and this circumstance bears on the discussion as to whether or not the present old church edifice, or a part of it, dates back to the days of Fr. Serra.

By the end of the year 1777, fourteen months after Fr. Serra

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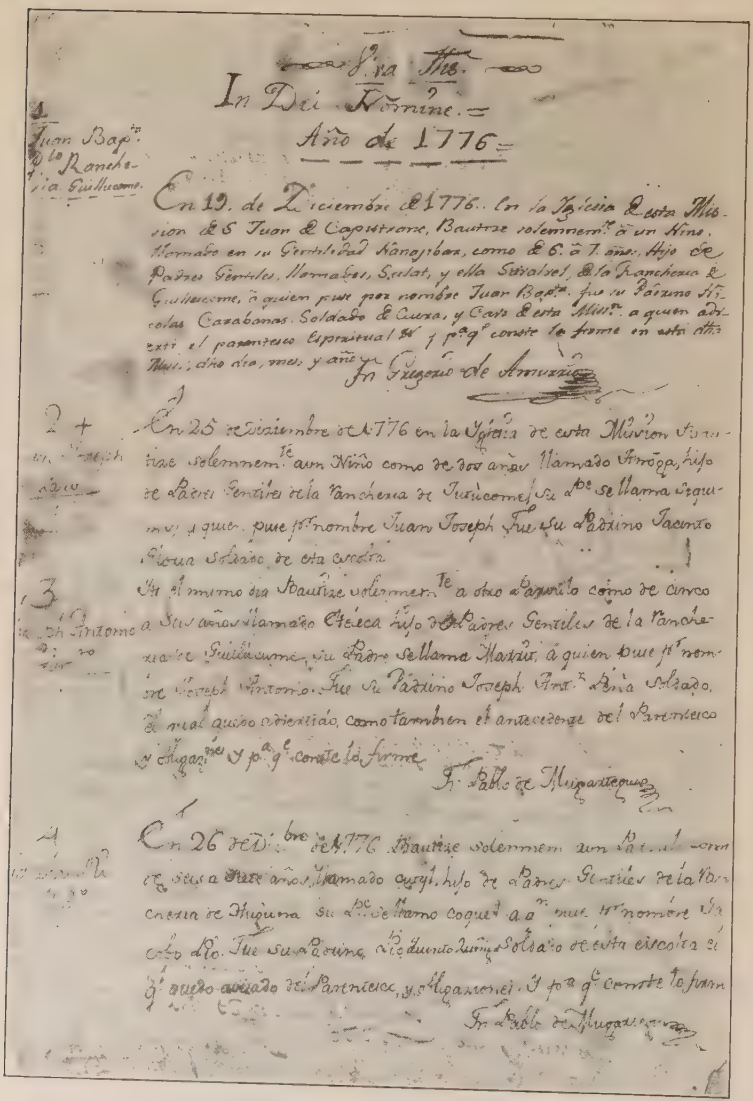
[2] *California*, p. 222.

[3] The entries are reproduced here in facsimile.



J.ra Ptes.

In Dei Nomine. =

Año de 1776 =

1 Juan Bap.ta de Ranchería Guillaeome.

En 12. de Diciembre de 1776. En la Yglesia de esta Mision de S. Juan de Capistrano, Bautize solemnem.te á un Niño, llamado en su Gentilidad Nanajiben, como de 6. á 7 años. Hijo de Padres Gentiles, llamados, Scolat, y ella Suvalset, de la Rancheria de Guillaeome, á quien puse por nombre Juan Bap.ta. fue su Padrino Fr.co de las Casabonas. Soldado de Cuera, y Cabo de esta Mis.n. a quien adverti el parentesco Espiritual q.e y p.a q.e conste lo firme en esta dha Mis.n; dho dia, mes, y año ut supra.

Fr Gregorio de Amurrio

2 + Juan Joseph

En 25 de Diciembre de 1776 en la Yglesia de esta Mision de San Juan de Capistrano solemnem.te bautize un Niño como de dos años llamado Amoga, hijo de Padres Gentiles de la Rancheria de Juaiquemes, á quien se llama Sequanay, á quien puse por nombre Juan Joseph. Fue su Padrino Jacinto Rivera Soldado de esta escolta

3 Antonio

En el mismo dia Bautize solemnem.te a otro Catecumino como de cinco a seis años llamado Oteeca hijo de Padres Gentiles de la Rancheria de Guillaeome, su Padre se llama Martin, á quien puse por nombre Joseph Antonio. Fue su Padrino Joseph Ant.o Rivera Soldado. El qual quedo advertido, como tambien el antecedente del Parentesco y Obligac.on y p.a q.e conste lo firme

Fr. Pablo de Mugartegui

4 Pablo

En 26 de Dic.bre de 1776 Bautize solemnem.te un Catecumino como de seis a siete años, llamado Cuyi, hijo de Padres Gentiles de la Rancheria de Juyuna su Padre se llamo Coquiaa, a quien puse por nombre Pablo. Fue su Padrino Pedro Antonio Soldado de esta escolta el qual quedo advertido del Parentesco, y Obligaciones. Y p.a q.e conste lo firmo

Fr Pablo de Mugartegui

FIRST THREE ENTRIES IN THE BAPTISMAL REGISTER. SIGNATURES OF FR. AMURRIO AND FR. MUGARTEGUI.

had blessed the Cross at this Mission, the names of forty-four converts had been entered.

During the next year, Indians applied in large numbers and received Baptism, in the case of adults, however, only after religious instruction had been duly given them. Thus for instance, on July 27, 1778, Fr. Mugártegui baptized eighteen candidates. During this same year, Fr. Serra visited the Mission for the first time since its founding, and on October 22 and 24, he baptized fifteen Indians, whose names he himself entered into the Register. On this occasion, he also administered the Sacrament of Confirmation, for which he had received special faculties from the Holy See. In his personal Record of Confirmations, he notes the event as follows:

"Mission San Juan Capistrano.—On October 23, 1778, the day of the most glorious San Juan Capistrano, in the new Mission of the same San Juan Capistrano de *Quanis-savit* (where I arrived at the time of Vespers on the day before the feast), after the principal Mass which I sang solemnly, and during which I preached on the Patron Saint and on the holy Sacrament of Confirmation; and after the reading in the vernacular (Spanish) of the faculty conferred by the Holy See, assisted by the two missionaries, the Fr. Lector Pablo de Mugártegui and Fr. Gregório Amúrrio, retaining the same sacerdotal vestments, I confirmed in due form those who were disposed and prepared for that solemn function. These were fifty-seven neophytes. On the Sunday following, October 25, of said year, in the same manner, I confirmed sixteen. On the feast of the holy Apostles Saints Simon and Judas Thaddeus I confirmed the last, who were eight in number. Of all those baptized at this Mission, and who were still living, two could not be found. Hence 147 were confirmed whose names with those of the sponsors and other circumstances are entered in the special new book which for that purpose was commenced and arranged in due form and to which I refer. The adults I instructed and disposed with much delight on account of the practical knowledge I perceived in those interpreters and on account of the affection of the hearers. After giving the blessing on all those days to the confirmed, I each time reminded the godfathers and godmothers

of their relationship with and of their duties toward their God-children. On the last day of Confirmation, in the afternoon I set out on the road to the next Mission (north), with the consolation of leaving this new foundation, which until the third day after my departure had not yet completed the second year of its existence, in such an active state, spiritually and temporally. In witness whereof I signed, Fr. Junípero Serra.[4]

Once more the zealous Fr. Presidente visited San Juan Capistrano. As previously, on his first official inspection, he came by land from San Diego, arriving on Friday, October 10, 1783.[5] On Sunday, October 12, the feast of Our Lady of Pilár of Saragosa, assisted by Fathers Mugártegui and Fuster, he confirmed ninety children. On the following day, the feast of the Relics and of St. Daniel and Companions, Martyrs, as he himself notes, he confirmed 123 persons. On the fourteenth of the month, he conferred the Sacrament on seven Indians and on the fifteenth on only one. This was to be his last visit at the Mission. "I left that Mission," he writes on the last mentioned day, "after tenderly embracing the Fathers," who were never to see him again in this life.

It was doubtless in the adobe church, reported as finished in December, 1778, that these ceremonies took place. There is no record of its original dimensions; but, before the lapse of the first decade, the chapels usually proved too small. Generally, the first structure would then be lengthened and heightened, or a new building was put up. There is nowhere any evidence that a new structure was erected at San Juan Capistrano. It would most certainly have been noted, at least in the Baptismal Register. This leads us to the conclusion that, when the original adobe chapel of 1778 could no longer accommodate the growing number of neophytes, Fathers Mugártegui and Fuster determined to lengthen it twice its size. This may have been done before Fr. Serra's last visit, but in that case he would have made mention

[4] Folio 9 of his Record, preserved in the parish church at Monterey. Fr. Serra writes San Juan *de* Capistrano, an example which the other Fathers did not follow.

[5] "A las tres dias llegue," he writes.

SPIRITUAL RESULTS AT MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

Year	Baptisms—Indian	Marriages—Indian	Deaths—Indian	Confessions	Communions	Confirmations	Viaticum	Neophytes		Total Number of Neophytes at Mission
								Male	Female	
1776	4									
1777	44	6	3							
1778	164	35	7			147				
1779	234	56	11							
1780	288	71	22							
1781	349	80	42							
1782	398	91	67							
1783	445	101	81			221				383
1784	556	126	99							431
1785	669	163	116							544
1786	733	185	140							544
1787	812	213	165							595
1788	912	240	201							662
1789	997	261	226							771
1790	1059	281	294							765
1791	1097	290	335			445				766
1792	1185	319	366							822
1793	1413	370	420			315				969
1794	1479	392	475			54				976
1795	1551	398	525							983
1796	1649	426	609							994
1797	1776	452	655							1107
1798	1843	469	719							1107
1799	1915	485	802							1060
1800	2009	501	917							1046
1801	2086	528	978							1022
1802	2147	551	1033							1013
1803	2245	576	1118							1027
1804	2331	604	1202							1024
1805	2663	695	1234							
1806	2739	721	1447							1062
1807	2842	743	1505							1109
1808	2914	749	1573	100	100					1096
1809	2975	760	1625	50	50					1114
1810	3039	774	1665	25	0					1138
1811	3165	797	1795	36	6			608	601	1209
1812	3410	866	1903	30	0			708	653	1361
1813	3438	882	1971	40	6			656	593	1249
1814	3486	901	2026	153	53			642	602	1244
1815	3541	923	2104	428	243		29	643	555	1198
1816	3587	942	2171	586	302		30	590	552	1142
1817	3637	953	2245	734	633		25	607	531	1138
1818	3688	965	2307	727	602		22	605	523	1128
1819	3731	985	2365	677	548		12	580	498	1078
1820	3774	1000	2420	607	493		21	578	486	1064
1821	3833	1014	2485	419	319		8	566	484	1050
1822	3879	1026	2531	599	473		13	571	481	1052
1823	3923	1046	2569	663	568		12	580	482	1062
1824	3967	1059	2623	662	552		15	571	489	1060
1825	4017	1079	2692	428	246		19			
1826	4068	1095	2730	518	427		9	579	464	1043
1827	4118	1102	2869	450	265		35	533	423	956
1828	4159	1119	2920	400	209		20	531	416	947
1829	4203	1134	2975	388	198		18			934
1830	4246	1139	3022	405	185		13	502	424	926
1831	4303	1149	3064	384	170		15	507	432	939
1832	4340	1153	3126	208	70		11			900
1833	4387	1159	3188							
1834	4404	1168	3227							861
1835	4434	1172	3264							
1836	4455	0000	3289							

SPIRITUAL RESULTS AT MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO.
CONTINUED.

Year	Baptisms—Indian	Marriages—Indian	Deaths—Indian	Confessions	Communions	Confirmations	Viaticum	Neophytes		Total Number of Neophytes at Mission
								Male	Female	
1837	4482	1189	3317	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1838	4507	1197	3344	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1839	4524	.....	3361	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1840	4539	.....	3376	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1841	4558	.....	3400	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1842	4586	.....	3413	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1843	4595	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1844	4608	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1845	4610	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1846	4621	.....	3421	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1847	4639	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

of it. Yet, he may have suggested or at least approved the plan in view of the fact that at the time of his last visit the Indians at the Mission, who numbered nearly four hundred, could no longer find room in the chapel as it was. Unfortunately, folios 38 and 39 with the entries, from 525 to 563 inclusive, are missing in the Baptismal Register. They would cover the latter part of the year in which Fr. Serra breathed his last, 1784, save three entries. For at the close of that year, 1784, the Fathers had entered 566 Baptisms.

At all events, it is certain that the first adobe church was enlarged. This may be seen from the cemetery by examining the wall of the church on the outside. The front half was considerably lower than the rear half, which goes to show that the rear is of a later date. When this addition was made, its walls were made higher than those of the original structure, which were then in turn raised so as to correspond with this new addition. The front half of the present building, if not the whole of it, is consequently the church in which Fr. Serra baptized and on two different visits administered the Sacrament of Confirmation. This would also mean that the front part, if not the entire structure, is the oldest building in California, and the only building

ARCHES IN THE PATIO. GLIMPSE OF FR. SERRA'S CHURCH.

hallowed by the presence of the holy founder of the California Missions. It should, therefore, be restored, preserved, and cherished as the most valuable monument of mission days. We have the Biennial and the Annual Reports of every Mission in California save those of San Juan Capistrano. They somehow disappeared within the last forty years. Although they begin for all the Missions not earlier than the year 1794, not having been prescribed before that year, they might throw considerable light on the subject.

The particulars about the beginnings, progress, and destruction of the stone church, which to-day is beyond restoration, have already been described. So we pass on culling other items of interest from the Registers.

It goes without saying that throughout the ecclesiastical year the Fathers observed all the prescribed ceremonies of divine worship. Once, there is explicit statement to that effect with regard to Holy Week. In connection with entry number 400 in the Baptismal Register we find the following: "On April 19, Holy Saturday, 1783, after blessing the baptismal font, I baptized, etc." Among the relics of mission days there is shown at San Juan Capistrano a large baptismal font. It may date from the earliest year; but apparently it is too elaborate a piece of workmanship to antedate the stone age, so to speak, when the stone church was building, about the year 1800.

Down to the end of 1792, the Fathers were able to instruct and prepare for Baptism on an average 75 Indians annually. The year 1793, however, brought an addition of 228 converts to the list

The year 1805 appears to have been the banner year of this Mission. For during those twelve months, 332 persons received the Sacrament of Regeneration. Often there would be large numbers on the same day. For instance, from March 2 to 14, Fr. José Faura alone baptized 105 candidates. On April 3 and 4, he admitted 65 converts to the fold of Christ, and on May 13 as many as 26 were admitted. This was the year preceding the dedication of the stone church.

Let the reader bear in mind that all converts over nine years

of age were regarded as adults, and, in consequence had to be instructed and put on probation. No such adult was admitted to the Sacrament who had not a more or less clear understanding of the Christian doctrine and of the moral obligations it involved, no matter what ignorant scribblers and malevolent writers may assert to the contrary. For details on this subject, however, we must refer the reader to our larger work on the General History of the California Missions.

Also the year of the great earthquake, which destroyed the stone church, was distinguished for the large number of Indians who desired Baptism. On March 5, 1812, for instance, Fr. Francisco Suñer writes that he "baptized solemnly in the church 23 pagan male adults, whose names, surnames, ages, native rancherias, and conditions" he entered in the Register under numbers 3284 to 3,306. On the following day, Fr. José Barona similarly entered the names of 26 female adults. On March 7, this same Father baptized four male and three female adults, and on the same day three other female adults. On the 9th, he added sixteen male and fourteen female children to the Christian Mission family. On March 8, he baptized one male and four female adults. On other days, many single Baptisms were entered.

Needless to say, such a harvest delighted the Fathers who had scarcely anything else to cheer them, and, in fact, sought nothing else. If they had only let us share this joy of theirs by relating what led up to such good results and what it cost them to achieve such success! As it is, the intelligent reader may but picture to himself what it all involved in the way of patient instructing, apart from the care of the large family already enlisted, for which the Fathers had to provide food, clothing, occupation, and diversion, as also protection against visible and invisible enemies of souls. No wonder, the earnest believer will say to himself, that the spirit of darkness was furious; while others, of course, will call merely accidental, coincidental, or incidental what overwhelmed the prosperous Indian Mission in the year 1812; while the stoic Indian will simply grunt his *Quien sabe?,* and turn away. It is too deep for him. The earthquake occurred early in the morning of December 8, 1812, as has already been related.

One might expect that with it successful missionary labor came to an end. Indeed, during the next two years, fewer Baptisms were recorded, only 28 in 1813 and 50 in 1814; but subsequent years again brought the average number. The years 1815 and 1816 especially were noted for numerous adult Baptisms. Thereafter, few pagans were left in the district, most of them joining San Luis Rey and San Gabriel, which Missions lay nearer to the haunts of pagandom.

The baptistry which adjoins the stone church having been destroyed with the main structure, a new baptistry was erected on the cemetery side of the former church building. The ruins of it still exist at this writing. This work was quickly done, indeed, it required only three months. Here, in this new baptistry, as Fr. Suñer makes especial note, the first Baptism was administered on March 21, 1813. The subject was an Indian infant, Benito Niceto, whose name appears in the Register under number 3,413.

CHAPTER XXI.

Autos-de-Visita, or Canonical Visitations.—Last Resident Franciscan, and last Visiting Missionaries.—Baptism of Whites.—Adopted Indians.—Without Shepherd.—Rev. José Rosáles in Charge.—Parish Contributions.

THE Superiors of the Missions, from Fr. Serra down to Fr. Tápis, whose term of office expired in 1812, held the prescribed canonical visitations, but none of these Fathers made any note of such visit in the Mission Books. In 1812, a Comisário Prefecto, or permanent visitor general, was elected by the College of San Fernando in the person of the saintly Fr. Vicente Francisco de Sarría of San Carlos Mission. His term of office lasted six years. During this period he made the rounds of the Missions three times. As a rule, these official visits were noted in the Registers on the fly leaf preceding the title page, and they were signed by both the visitor and his secretary. Thus, on October 21, 1813, as far as Mission San Juan Capistrano is concerned, Fr. Sarría entered his *Auto-de-Visita*, as it was called, for the first time, Fr. Boscana counter-signing as secretary. The next time, he signed the *Auto-de-Visita* together with Fr. Nuez, on October 1, 1816; and a third time, on July 17, 1818, with Fr. Escudé as secretary. Of his fourth visit in the capacity of Comisário Prefecto, made in July, 1824, there is no entry in the Mission Books; but in that same year, on July 25, as the Death Register shows, he officiated at a burial at San Juan Capistrano. The entry appears under number 2,600.

Fr. Sarría's successor, Fr. Mariano Payéras, signed the *Auto-de-Visita* in all the books together with Fr. José Sanchez, on August 20, 1821. This is also the last entry of the kind, since with Mexican rule every Father had a Mission to attend alone, while other obstacles were also thrown in the way of the missionaries until the year 1833. Fr. Narciso Durán, on July 26, 1833, visited San Juan Capistrano, which till 1831 had had two Fathers, indeed, but both infirm, namely, Fathers Barona and Zalvidea.

MATERIAL RESULTS AT MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO.

LIVE STOCK.

Year	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Pigs	Horses	Mules	Total
1783	430	305	830	40	32	11	1648
1784	703	904	1353	20	50	12	3042
1785	866	1300	850	30	50	12	3108
1786	1109	1855	869	29	63	14	3939
1787	1300	2440	990	25	68	39	4862
1788	1360	2507	808	30	80	22	4807
1789	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1790	2328	4700	808	.....	176	22	8034
1791	2490	6301	1090	.....	218	30	10129
1792	3451	8206	608	.....	246	28	12539
1793	3560	8820	390	.....	389	36	13195
1794	3500	9114	458	.....	441	44	13557
1795	4180	11130	420	.....	450	38	16218
1796	4720	12050	150	.....	532	58	17510
1797	5550	12850	.....	.....	690	59	19149
1798	7256	13748	.....	.....	484	68	21556
1799	7514	16850	.....	.....	582	46	24992
1800	7815	17030	.....	.....	567	50	25462
1801	8864	16300	.....	.....	638	58	25860
1802	8710	15300	.....	.....	660	58	24728
1803	9124	15345	.....	.....	790	58	25317
1804	10316	15520	.....	.....	908	70	26814
1805	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1806	11228	12350	.....	.....	1408	92	25078
1807	11310	12800	.....	.....	804	96	25010
1808	10850	14200	.....	.....	836	113	25999
1809	9680	13200	.....	.....	708	96	23684
1810	9200	11500	.....	.....	538	100	21338
1811	9900	12000	.....	60	302	135	22397
1812	10300	12500	.....	50	380	171	23401
1813	10308	12000	.....	80	346	183	22917
1814	10000	10200	60	40	370	160	20830
1815	12000	13000	60	110	370	163	25703
1816	12500	14000	75	160	438	163	27336
1817	13200	15300	195	200	663	166	29724
1818	13000	15800	237	206	689	157	30089
1819	14000	16000	215	182	740	126	31263
1820	11000	13800	203	195	381	99	25678
1821	12000	13000	94	200	608	115	26017
1822	11500	12000	83	145	531	112	24371
1823	11000	10800	35	94	437	95	22461
1824	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1825	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1826	10800	5700	55	40	345	51	16991
1827	12600	6200	60	50	386	60	19356
1828	9600	5600	52	63	293	28	15636
1829	9200	5200	41	70	241	30	14782
1830	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1831	10900	4800	50	40	290	30	16110
1832	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1833	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1834	8000	4000	.....	80	50	9	12139

The former died in 1831, leaving Fr. Zalvidea alone. This saintly Father had to cope with perhaps the darkest period of the Mission's history until 1842, when he was directed to take the place of Fr. Ibarra, who had died at San Luis Rey. His last entry at San Juan Capistrano is dated November 25, 1842. On January

1, 1832, Fr. Antonio Ánzar, a Zacatecan, entered Baptism number 4,304. He is the first and the only friar, so far as we have observed, who applied the adorable Name of Jesus to an infant in Baptism, a Mexican but an irreverent custom which ought to be abolished.

After Fr. Zalvidea's departure, no entries were made in the Baptismal Register until May 10, 1843, on which day and occasionally thereafter Fr. Thomas Esténaga visited the place. Although he resided at San Gabriel, it appears that he had jurisdiction over the San Juan Capistrano district so long as it had no resident priest. Fr. Oliva of Mission San Diego administered Baptism once, on September 19, 1843, and entered it under number 4,595. By August, 1844, Fr. Esténaga baptized six more children. The Dominican Fr. Ignácio Ramírez de Arellano, on his way from Lower California to the north, stopped at San Juan Capistrano and remained there from August 23 to October 12, 1844, if not longer, and entered the Baptisms numbering 4,601 to 4,605. During the entire year of 1845, only two Baptisms took place, which goes to show that the Indian population had by that time almost disappeared.

At last the place was to have, for a while at least, another Franciscan and its last resident friar, Fr. Vicente Pascual Oliva. He withdrew from San Diego late in June or early in July, 1846; and after burying the remains of the saintly Fr. Zalvidea, he came to reside at San Juan Capistrano, apparently in July or August of that year. At all events, he entered a Baptism on September 6, 1846, but he found little to do at the once prosperous Mission; for down to July 11, 1847, he had occasion to baptize only twenty-seven times. His last was numbered 4,639 and dated July 11, 1847.

Inasmuch as San Juan Capistrano was a purely Indian Mission, and in the early days no white people lived there save the soldiers and their families, the first Baptism of a white male child occurred not earlier than August 2, 1780, when Pedro Buenaventura, son of Pio Quinto Zuñiga, one of the guards, received the Sacrament. Before him 278 Indians had already been vested with the white baptismal robe. The next male infant of Mexican parentage to

MATERIAL RESULTS AT MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO.— AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

Year	Wheat		Barley		Corn		Beans		Peas		Lentils		Garbanzos		Habas		TOTAL			
																	Fanegas		Bushels	
	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.
1783	.....	500	.....	.....	.....	800	.....	40	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1840	.....	2700
1784	.....	400	.....	.....	.....	1430	.....	60	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1890	.....	3150
1785	37	807	.....	.....	6½	900	3	130	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	46	1837	77	3060
1786	41	536	.....	.....	10	1036	4	130	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	55	1702	92	2837
1787	38	900	.....	.....	9½	700	2½	150	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	4	.....	.....	52	1804	86	3007
1788	43	1050	.....	.....	9½	700	3	70	.....	.....	.....	.....	⅙	4	.....	.....	56	1824	93	3073
1789	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1790	57	1020	.....	.....	6⅔	1030	2	27	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	66	2077	110	3453
1791	80	1586	2	52	10	1854	3	136	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	95	3428	158	5713
1792	95	2835	2	60	13	2000	4	50	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	114	4945	190	8242
1793	85	3504	.....	.....	7½	1120	3	175	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	85	4799	142	7982
1794	80	2490	.....	.....	8½	977	3	70	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	91	3537	150	5895
1795	103	2460	.....	.....	6	950	2	105	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	111	3515	185	5853
1796	122	3177	.....	.....	7½	1108	2	14	⅙	0	.....	.....	⅙	7	.....	.....	132	4306	220	7177
1797	111	2802	.....	.....	7	287	2	75	.....	.....	.....	.....	⅛	0	.....	.....	120	3164	200	5273
1798	140	2033	2	50	8	290	3	81	.....	.....	.....	.....	⅛	0	.....	.....	153	2454	255	4090
1799	151	3562	2	70	7	543	3¾	119	.....	.....	½	2½	1½	4	.....	.....	165	4300	275	7165
1800	177	3500	2	35	5	494	1⅔	118	⅙	3	⅙	11	¼	1½	.....	.....	188	4161	313	6935
1801	115	3300	1½	40	6	400	3	74	6½	0	⅙	0	¼	18	½	7	126	3839	210	6397
1802	103	2908	2	20	5	600	2	60	.....	.....	.....	.....	¼	7	¼	9	112	3604	187	6007
1803	106	2890	1½	40	7	1015	2⅓	80	.....	.....	.....	.....	⅓	7	¼	7	117	4039	195	6732
1804	109	4010	1½	30	7½	1030	4⅙	107	½	2	.....	.....	⅓	7	⅓	0	123	5186	205	8643
1805	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1806	110	4420	.....	.....	10	2315	5⅙	192	⅓	0	.....	.....	½	15⅓	½	0	126	6942	210	11570
1807	140	1200	4	0	15¾	1200	6½	80	⅛	0	.....	.....	½	13¼	1	0	167	2490	278	6150
1808	110	1600	4	15	14	600	7½	83	⅓	7⅙	.....	.....	⅓	4½	2⅙	16⅓	138	2321	230	3868
1809	160	260	4	0	4	452	½	22	⅓	0	.....	.....	⅓	0	.....	.....	169	714	282	1190
1810	120	2000	37	1010	4¼	500	1½	25	½	0	.....	.....	⅓	0	¼	0	163	3535	272	5892
1811	160	5000	54	1900	10	2020	9⅙	206	.....	.....	.....	.....	½	9½	.....	.....	234	9135	387	15272
1812	200	1800	20	200	10	1500	½	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	230	3509	382	5848
1813	180	1400	8	35	11	1500	4	60	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	19	3	7	207	3021	345	5035
1814	150	1500	.....	.....	8	1600	5	51	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	0	5	0	169	3151	282	5252

MATERIAL RESULTS AT MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO.—AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS
(Continued)

Year	Wheat		Barley		Corn		Beans		Peas		Lentils		Garbanzos		Habas		TOTAL Fanegas		TOTAL Bushels	
	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.	Plant.	Harv.
1815	165	2117	0	5	9	1800	6	132	1/3	2/3			1/2	2	3	3 1/16	184	4060	307	6766
1816	150	2296	3	16	12	1663	4 1/4	55	1	3 1/3			1/4	5 1/4	3 1/2	10	175	4048	292	6747
1817	141	3645	16	450	11	1340	1	93	1/2	10 1/2	1	0	1/2	2	5	15 1/2	175	5556	292	9260
1818	109	5170	11	312	11	2100	2	92	1/12	1 1/6			1/3	6	1	57	139	8737	232	14562
1819	9 1/2	520			6	1286	1	46	1 1/2	1			1/2	1	1 3/4	70	18	1924	30	3207
1820	11	138			6	1040	1	32	1/12	1/3			1/12	2/3	1	16	18	1227	30	2045
1821	9	621			6	2015	2	84	1/6	0			1/6	2	1	2	19	2724	32	4540
1822	8	20			9	500	2	48					1/6	1	1	53	20	622	33	1037
1823	3	243			7 1/4	1206	1 1/2	75	1/12	0			1/12	0	1	63	12	1487	20	2478
1824																				
1825																				
1826	90	50	10	8	8	800	5	8	1/12	0			1/12	0	1	0	113	866	185	1776
1827	146	200			18	2000	8	120	1	1			2	8	4	2	179	2331	297	3885
1828	78	600			7	700	7 1/2	90	1/2	30			1/2	3 1/6	1/2	0	94	1422	157	2370
1829	64	90			16	400	6	14					1 1/3	9	2/3	8	88	531	147	885
1830																				
1831	115	450			13	625	3	30	1/2	3			2/3	0	2/3	2	133	1110	222	1850
1832																				
1833																				
1834						150		20										170		283

NOTE. A fanega is equal to 100 lbs.
Plant. means fanegas planted or sown.
Harv. means fanegas harvested.

be baptized was José Maria Basilio Faustino, son of Felipe Romero, blacksmith of the presidio of San Diego. His name was entered on April 19, 1783, under number 400. The first white girl, and indeed the first white infant, to be brought to the sacred font, on June 2, 1780, was Maria Antonia Marcela, daughter of Antonio Cota. She found her place in the list under number 264. Down to February 2, 1824, not more than 33 white male and 35 white female children had been baptized at the Mission, whereas by that time the Register contained the names of more than 3,900 Indians. For more than a year after February, 1824, until November 25, 1825, no whites were baptized. On the last mentioned day, under number 4,012 we find a family name which had a good sound throughout the mission period. On that day a child, José Ramon de los Dolores Yorba, was baptized. Thereafter, the names of white people occur more frequently, while those of Indians steadily dwindle in number.

A noteworthy feature of this Mission's Register, after the dissolution, are the many entries of children of pagan tribes whose habitat extended as far east as the Colorado River. Occasionally, these savages would make raids on the cattle and horses of the Mission and then disappear. Expeditions against them frequently failed. At times, the raiders and their families were captured, in consequence of which many of the Indian children lost their parents. They would then be adopted by Californians who often treated them kindly, but not unfrequently looked upon them as anything but members of their family. The stories of illtreatment of Indian children told about some paisano masters and mistresses in various parts of California are harrowing in the extreme; but they are stories and we are dealing with facts. No matter how well such accounts and many others of a more pleasant nature may be based on fact, as there is no documentary evidence, we can not incorporate them in a work that is expected to supply only authentic information.

The Californians who adopted such orphaned Indian children would have them baptized and would engage to raise them in the Catholic faith. This much, at least, is certain. One of the first instances occurred at San Juan Capistrano in 1844. On October

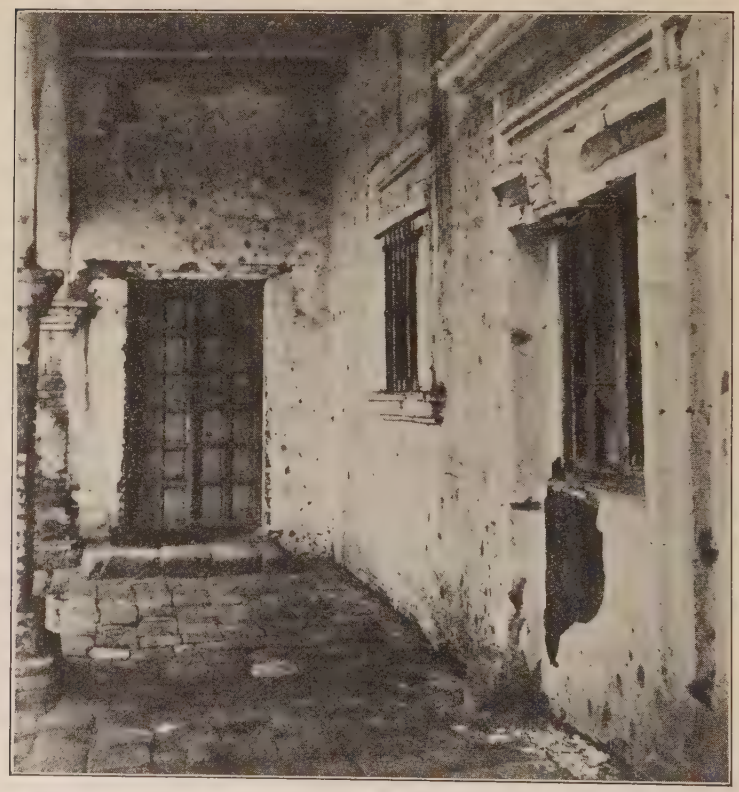
12, of that year, Fr. Ignácio Arellano, O.P., baptized a child of about seven years, that belonged to the Yuta tribe. The boy was given the name José Antonio, while Miguel Sepúlveda and Maria Concepción Serrano stood sponsors.

On September 6, 1846, Fr. Vicente Oliva baptized Maria Antonia, six years old, and the child of Yuta Indians. Onésimo Covarrúbias and Concepción Pico stood sponsors for the little girl. In the following November, the same Father administered Baptism to an Indian girl, five or six years old. She was the child of Yuma parents. The name given her was Maria Susana, and Anastasia Aguilar was her sponsor. Again, on April 3, 1847, he baptized Isabela, daughter of Yuma parents from the Colorado River. Maria Pico, wife of Joaquín Ortega, was sponsor. Another Yuma child, six years old, was presented for Baptism and named Maria Helena on July 7, 1847, by the sponsors John Forster and his wife Isidora Pico, sister of Pio Pico. More such instances could be added, but these will suffice to explain the situation.

During the wretched period beginning with the arrival of the motley crowd that followed in the wake of Echeandia, and with the appearance of foreign sailors, in the third decade of the nineteenth century, the term *padre no conocido,—the father not known,* occurs frequently here at San Juan Capistrano as well as at San Diego. In some cases, the mother of the recipient was only too well known. This pitiable condition, too, was one of the sorry achievements of the unscrupulous mission despoilers. In consequence, San Juan Capistrano became a hotbed of vice and drunkenness and continued such to a late period, when local prohibition did away with the execrable saloons in the county.

When Fr. Oliva died, in January, 1848, the jurisdiction over San Juan Capistrano devolved on the Franciscans of Mission San Gabriel. San Luis Rey and San Diego being without priests at the time, the people south of Los Angeles as far as the border below San Diego were for more than a year at a loss where to go for the reception of the Sacraments. In November, 1849, the Rev. Chrisostom Holbein, C.SS.CC. arrived here on his way to San Diego and took pity on the orphaned flock till February, 1850.

Then the first secular priest came to take charge of San Juan Capistrano, one who had been among the first to be raised to the holy priesthood at Santa Barbara by the first Bishop of California, on October 8, 1843.[1] This was the Rev. José Maria



DOUBLE DOOR TO FORMER VESTRY WHICH WAS FORMED BY WALLING UP THREE ARCHES IN THE FRONT CORRIDOR. TO THE RIGHT SEE DOOR CHANGED INTO A WINDOW.

Rosáles who, at the time, was on his way to Mexico, but who remained at San Juan Capistrano on seeing the people without spiritual guidance and comfort. He baptized for the first time on

[1] See *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, p. 258.

February 20, 1850. In connection with the entry of this Baptism he made the following note: "As priest, not of a foreign diocese but of the diocese here, I came by commission from the local missionary, Fr. Blas Ordaz, who resides at San Gabriel, but in whose charge is also this Mission of San Juan Capistrano."

Father Rosáles continued here until November 22, 1853. The old people remember him as a forceful speaker. For his support contributions, called tithes, were set apart. Formerly, the white settlers contributed nothing in this way but shared gratis in the spiritual benefits which the Indians enjoyed by right. Now that the Indians had disappeared, and the mission property had been taken out of the hands of the Church, not excepting the mission buildings, orchards, and gardens, all of which were occupied by parties considering themselves owners in virtue of Pio Pico's fraudulent sale,—the settlers were called upon to support their pastor if they desired his services. Luckily, Father Rosáles kept a memorandum of all that was contributed for his support and for the maintenance of divine worship. The booklet covers the entire period of his administration. The introduction reads as follows: "Cuaderno (booklet, account, record) which presents the data of the tithes pertaining to the church and the priest in charge of the parish of San Juan Capistrano. The collection since the beginning of the year of 1851 to the present year of 1853, received from the owners of ranchos and from other persons possessing property within the corporation of the community under the jurisdiction of this town, which are those noted on their respective pages.

"*Nota:*—I have been, since the year 1850, August 28, in possession of this church of San Juan Capistrano, then belonging to the parish of San Gabriel, governed by the Rev. Fr. Blas Ordaz, who thought it well to accept and approve me as his coadjutor for said Mission. Therefore, he chose also to assign to me the tithes which might be paid during the first year entire for my benefit and for the church, as is proved by a document, which exists in my possession and is signed by the same Rev. Fr. Blas Ordaz.

"Likewise, in the year 1850, when I was approved as temporary pastor of this church by the Administrator of the diocese, Fr. José Maria de Jesus González, as is proved by his certificate

dated November 17, of the said year, which the Bishop succeeding thought it well to confirm on September 30, 1851. In conformity with the dispositions of said prelates, I have requested the contributions to the present year in virtue of a document from the Rev. Fr. Gonzales, dated July 29, 1851, which I certify for its future continuance.—Presbitero Padre José Maria Rosales."

Then follows the list of the contributors for the three years, 1851 to 1853. Teodósio Yorba, Ramón Carrillo, and Leandro

DOOR TO FORMER SALA, PRESENT CHAPEL.

Serrano contributed their share each year, the entire contribution of these three amounting to 75 head of cattle and $12 in cash, which latter was paid by Teodosio Yorba.

Pedro Antonio Ramón Yorba, Domingo Soledad Yorba, and Catalina Yorba contributed for the three years 73 head of cattle and six horses.

José Sepulveda of Rancho de San Ignácio contributed for the three years 30 head of cattle.

Juan Avila and José Serrano de los Alisos contributed for the three years 40 head of cattle.

Emígdio Béjar, Santiago Rios, José Alipás, Manuel Manríquez, Pedro Verdugo, Meregildo Olivárez, Miguel Yorba, Francisco Rodríguez, all of San Juan Capistrano, contributed for the three years 45 head of cattle and six horses.

Juan Forster of Trabuco, nothing; Pio Pico of San Mateo, nothing; Blas Aguilár, Silvério Rios, Antonio Maria Olivárez, all of San Juan Capistrano, nothing; Manuel Niéves Felix, nothing."

So, during the three years of his administration at San Juan Capistrano, the Rev. José Rosáles received for his support and for the maintenance of divine worship exactly 262 head of cattle, twelve horses, and $12 in cash. This was not enough to grow rich on, since at that time cattle could be had for $5 per head, while horses were not worth more. Moreover, he would have to feed the animals and most likely had also to pay a certain percentage, if he wished to dispose of them. Indeed, the poor priest probably fared no better than the Bishop of California himself, for whose support the Californians from 1843 to 1845 likewise contributed for the most part cattle—a rather expensive contribution. Frequently, when stock of this kind was sold, the returns realized were far below the market value. For instance, in 1844, Bishop Diego had to sell 843 head of cattle for $1,264, which meant not even $2 per head! On another occasion, in the same year, the Bishop's agent could secure only $472 for 305 head of cattle!

It will be observed, from the list of contributors reproduced from Father Rosáles's account book, what Pio Pico and his relatives paid for the support of the priest and divine worship; but Father Rosáles will have heard that the Bishop himself fared no better at the hands of the mission despoilers, notably at the hands of the pompous Vallejo, for which facts we refer the reader to our larger work.[2] The other four, mentioned in the list as having contributed nothing, may have been too poor; but they were hardly so poor as to be unable to contribute anything at all for three years. However, both Pio Pico and Vallejo became miserably poor, so that later they would have been glad to possess what they denied their Bishop and pastors, as will be seen in its place.

[2] *Missions and Missionaries*, vol. iv, pp. 247-257.

CHAPTER XXII.

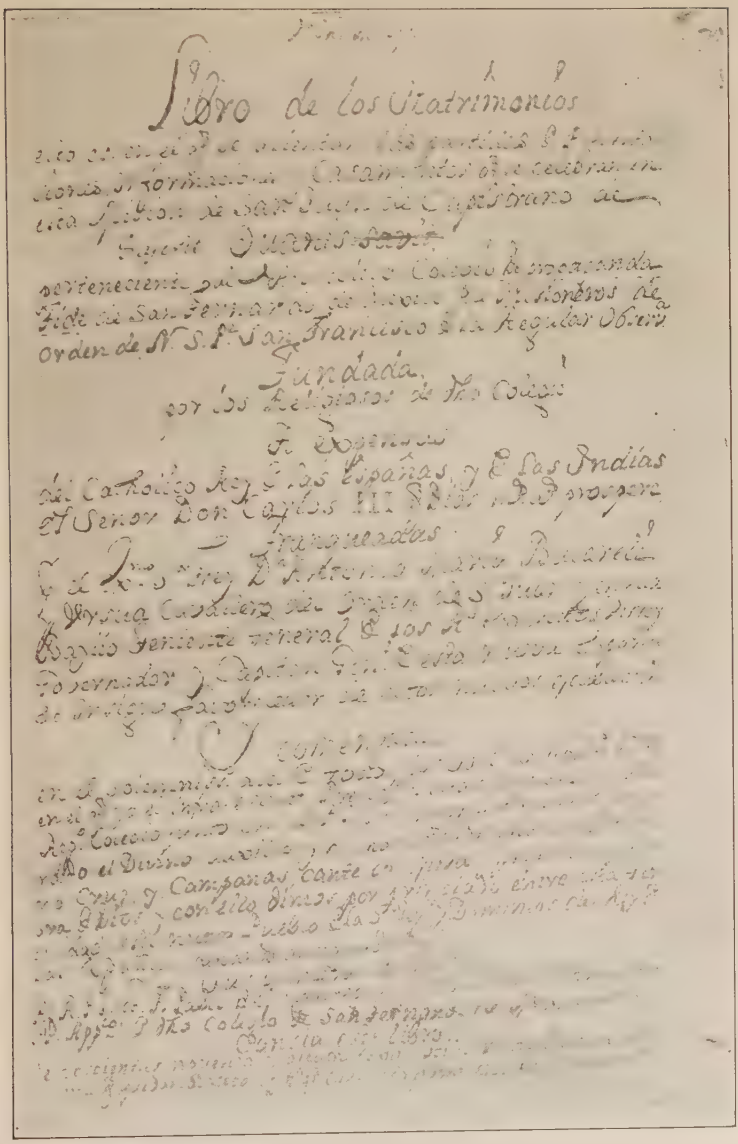
First Marriage.—Confirmation Register.—Confirmations.—Bishop José S. Alemany at the Mission.—Episcopal Visitations.—Burial Register.—First Burials.—San Juan Capistrano el Viejo.—Death of Fr. Fustér.—Measles. —Earthquake Victims.—Death of Fr. Barona.—Death of Fr. Oliva.— Miss Lorenzana.

THE title page of the Mission's Marriage Register was drawn up by Fr. Junípero Serra. He called the site on which the Mission stood *Quanís-savit*. Either he was misinformed or he misunderstood the name; for another hand later canceled this name and substituted *Sajivit*. The wording of the title page is similar to that of the Baptismal Register, except that for *Bautismos* the contents of the book is indicated by the word *Matrimonios*. The Register contains 294 folios or leaves for use.

The first Indian marriage was blessed by Fr. Pablo Mugártegui on the feast of the Espousals of the Blessed Virgin Mary, January 23, 1777. The groom's name was Saturnino and the bride's Brigida. They seem to have been of the six Christian Indian families who had come up from Lower California with Fr. Francisco Palóu in August, 1773, and who were distributed among the existing missions. At all events, the young couple, as the entry says, were natives of Mission San Francisco de Borja, in Lower California. The bride was recorded as the daughter of Clara, native of that Mission.

Many of the subsequent Baptisms called for the renewal of the marriage contract. For instance, in 1812, on February 7 and 8, as also on March 5 and 6, shortly after the earthquake, fifty-three Indian couples had the marriages which they entered into, while still pagans, sanctified by the blessing of the Church. They are numbers 805 to 858 in the Register.

Beginning with the year 1839, the numbers go astray, just as is the case in the other books. Till then, that is to say, by the end of 1838, as many as 1,197 marriages had been entered into the Register, although Fr. Zalvidea's last entry, made on August 31, 1842, is numbered 1,163. Fr. Oliva's first entry, entered in Sep-


Libro de los Matrimonios

TITLE PAGE OF THE MATRIMONIAL REGISTER WRITTEN BY FR. JUNIPERO SERRA.

tember, 1843, bears number 1,164. There were few marriages during these years down to 1847. They were entered, but no dates accompany them, as Fr. Joaquín Jimeno declares, who blessed the last couple some time in 1850 and who was then succeeded by Rev. José Rosáles.

San Juan Capistrano is among the few fortunate Missions which have preserved their Confirmation Register. It has even a *Libro Segundo*. The Confirmations administered by Fathers Serra and Lasuén are noted in the Table of Spiritual Results. After Fr. Lasuén's period, the Sacrament of Confirmation was not conferred until half a century later. Fr. Narciso Durán had the faculty, and he vised and signed the Mission books at San Juan Capistrano on July 26, 1833; but he performed no other function. The first Bishop of California, the Rt. Rev. Francisco García Diego y Moreno, after a short stay at San Diego, December, 1841, to January, 1842, sailed from there to Santa Barbara and never after extended his visits south of Los Angeles.

Fr. José Joaquín Jimeno, in his capacity of Commissary Prefect of the Franciscans, enjoyed the privilege of confirming. He visited San Juan Capistrano in August, 1850. On this occasion, from the feast of Porciuncula, or Our Lady of the Angels, August 2, till the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, August 15, he confirmed on various days 133 persons.

In the following year, on September 25, 1851, the Rt. Rev. José Sadoc Alemany, O. P., first Bishop of Monterey, administered the Sacrament of Confirmation at Santa Ana to twenty-six persons. Then he proceeded to visit the venerable old Mission of San Juan Capistrano and there, on September 27, 28, 29 and 30, 1851, confirmed in all only four persons, one each day. Bishop Alemany was very pious and accommodating or he might have left some expressive note in the Register.

A second Book of Confirmations begins with the visit of the Rt. Rev. Francis Mora, third Bishop of Monterey, on October 23, 1878. A few days later, on November 1, 1878, the Bishop confirmed at San Luis Rey fifteen persons. This entry was made by the Rev. José Mut, who doubtless assisted the Bishop, since both places were in his charge.

The Burial Register of Mission San Juan Capistrano is replete with interesting data; but we must restrict ourselves to what follows. The title page was drawn up by Fr. Junípero Serra and but for the word *Difuntos,* the text is like that of the two other books. It has 294 folios for use, as Fr. Serra remarks, not counting the first and the last folio, which were to remain blank. It was signed on December 2, 1776, at this Mission, which is evidence that Fr. Serra passed a month at San Juan Capistrano after its founding.

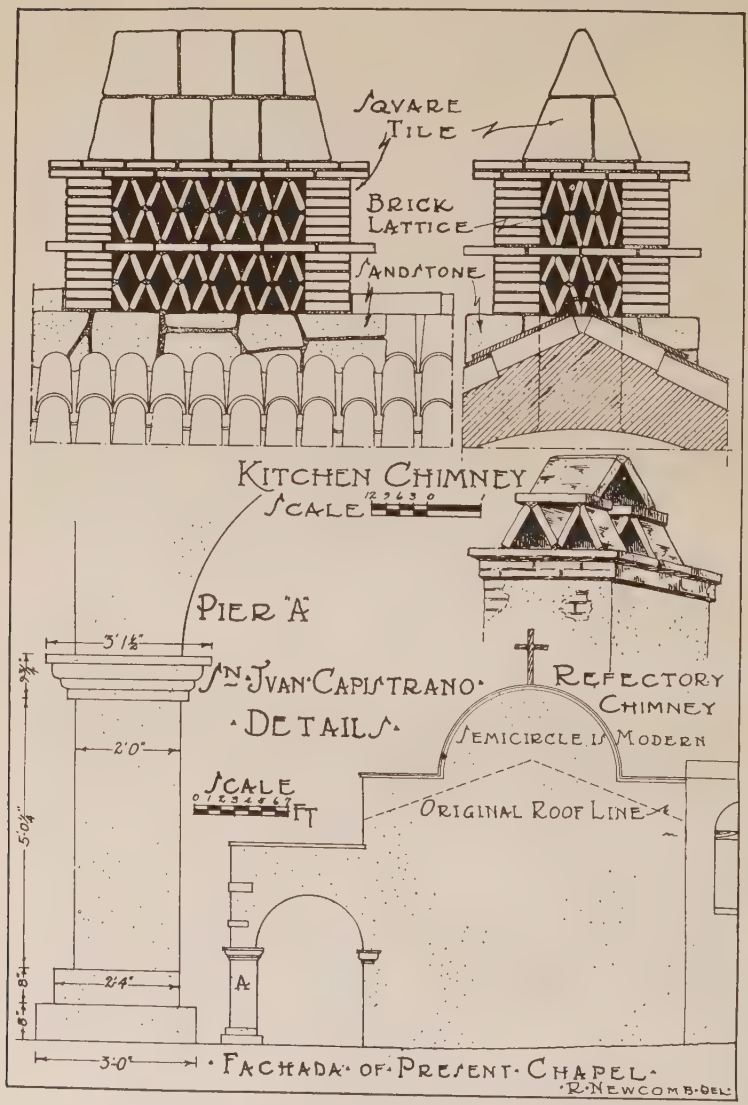
The first entry records the death and burial of Sinforosa, a child of pagan parents. The ceremonies were performed by Fr. Pablo Mugártegui, on July 13, 1777, more than seven months after the founding of the Mission. Fr. Gregório Amúrrio officiated at the second burial, that of José Dolores, a child of pagan parents, on August 30, 1777. The place of burial is not specified, but the entry always reads *ecclesiastical burial was given.* From number 14 to 24 inclusive, the remark is added *en la Iglesia,* which does not mean, however, that the corpse was interred within the church building.

The first burial recorded as having taken place *en el Cementerio de esta Mision—in the cemetery of this Mission* occurred on March 9, 1781. It is number 25 in the list.

The mortality at the Mission was very small for the first years. At the close of 1777 only three burials had taken place, and at the end of 1778 only four more had been added. Likewise, in 1779, only four died. Then with the increase of the converts the death entries become more numerous. By the end of 1788 as many as 201 had been made, nearly one-fourth the number of Baptisms administered till then.

An interesting entry is number 45, which reads as follows: "Having received notice that on the site or ranchería commonly called *San Juan Capistrano el Viejo* [1] they had killed with arrows a Christian Indian named Leandro Jualequet, married to Praxedis Naudavam, I went to the rancheria of Santa Margarita, where they told me he was, and there I found close to the rancheria a

[1] "en el parage ó rancheria llamada vulgarmente San Juan Capistrano el Viejo."



DETAILS BY PROFESSOR REXFORD NEWCOMB.

cross planted in the ground; the mother of said Leandro told us that the gentiles had interred him, and that a Christian Indian called Marcelino Záaxt had put the cross there. In testimony whereof I signed on January 17, 1782.—Fr. Vicente Fustér."

The Rancheria de San Juan Capistrano el Viejo is mentioned again on December 10, 1790, at number 292.

It will be remembered that when the expedition under Portolá, on July 18, 1769, reached the valley which later became famous for the largest California Mission, San Luis Rey, Fr. Juan Crespi named the valley in honor of San Juan Capistrano. This name it retained for thirty years until San Luis Rey Mission was founded there. Previously, however, Mission San Juan Capistrano had been founded. In order to distinguish the site, which Fr. Crespi had named San Juan Capistrano from the Mission of that name, it was called San Juan Capistrano *el Viejo—Old* San Juan Capistrano. Hence it must not be confounded with the place which is similarly designated, and which lies between about five miles east of Mission San Juan Capistrano.

On October 21, 1800, Fr. Vicente Fustér passed away at San Juan Capistrano. Those who have read the history of Mission San Diego will remember him for the heroic part he played on that November night of 1775 when the Mission was attacked and destroyed by Indians. For details regarding the life of this zealous missionary we refer the reader to the biographical sketches at the end of the volume.

In the beginning of the year 1806, Fr. Santiago notes that an epidemic of measles broke out at the Mission. It was the first time since the founding of the Mission. The disease was unknown to the Indians; but they soon learned that for them it is a veritable plague, hardly less disastrous than the small pox, although its toll among Americans is very small. Missionaries among Indians always dreaded its appearance. At San Juan Capistrano large numbers of neophytes were carried off during January and February. At the end of the year 1805, the Burial Register contained 1,234 entries. At the end of February, 1806, only two months later, the entries had increased to 1,367. Accordingly, within this brief space of time, 133 deaths occurred. Not all

were interred in the cemetery to the rear of the stone church. Many died at a distance from the Mission and received burial near their homes. The Fathers, of course, endeavored to reach all of whose illness they received notice.

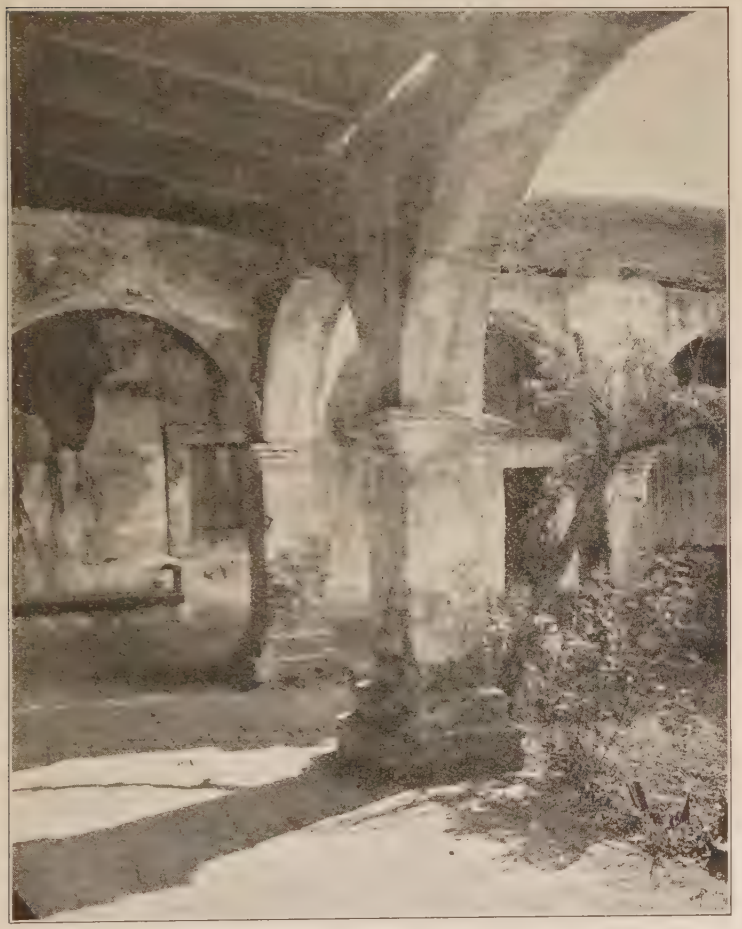
It has already been related that two months after the earthquake, the body of a woman was found in the ruins of the church. The reason for not removing the debris entirely was the fear that parts of the vaulted roof might come down on the workmen. When at last, on February 26, 1813, excavations were made, the body of Paulina, a married woman, was discovered. This brought the number of those who had been killed at the time of the earthquake to forty. The remains of the Indian woman were interred with the others who had lost their life on that sad occasion. As boards were scarce, the bodies were usually buried wrapped in blankets or mats.

The terrible calamity had another aftermath. It appears that Gabriel Pajomit, husband of one of the victims, Maria Dolores Cuínavan, lost his reason from either fright or grief. At all events, his lifeless body was found in the woods (en el bosque) and buried in the cemetery on May 8, 1813.

A singular case is the following: Fr. Francisco Suñer, on July 20, 1811, says in entry number 1,711 that he gave ecclesiastical burial in the cemetery of the Mission to a married woman named Eutiquia Yaguajobam. She had not received any Sacrament, he says, because having been bitten by a snake and going in search of a remedy, she was thrown into the water by a pagan woman and thus came to an instant death. The missionary adds that the people were in deep grief over the occurrence and that, after having the woman punished for her crime, they banished her from the rancheria.

Fr. José Barona, who was so ill treated, as the reader will remember, by the soldier José Cañedo, in 1823, and who seems to have ailed ever since, departed this life on August 4, 1831. Details will be found in the biographical sketch.

Fr. Zalvidea made his last entry in the Death Register on July 29, 1842. It is number 3,413 and the last for more than four years; for Fr. Oliva entered the next, number 3,414, on



CORNER OF CORRIDORS IN REAR OF FR. SERRA'S CHURCH.

October 3, 1846. It is not likely that these years passed without a death at the Mission. Probably laymen performed the burials, recited the ordinary prayers, and subsequently forgot to report the death to Fr. Oliva. The latter most probably blessed the graves in the cemetery when he was informed of the previous burials; but he omitted noting the fact when no names were forthcoming. As the Baptismal Register contains only thirty entries for these four years, made by priests who occasionally visited the place, one may guess the utter abandonment of the once lively Mission.

It must be noted here that Fr. Zalvidea by mistake numbered his last burial entry 4,031 instead of 3,413. The priests who succeeded him continued this erroneous numbering.

The beginning of 1848 brought still deeper gloom to the Mission. The last resident Franciscan died at San Juan Capistrano on January 2, 1848. It was Fr. Vicente Oliva. The floods having prevented Fr. Blas Ordáz of San Gabriel from reaching his dying fellow missionary. Fr. Oliva passed away without having received the Last Sacraments. It was the third time in the history of California. The other two who died in this manner were the universally esteemed Fr. Vicente de Sarría at Mission Soledad in May, 1835, and Fr. Zalvidea at San Luis Rey in June or July, 1846. Fr. Ibarra of San Luis Rey seems also to have died without sacerdotal assistance late in 1842.

The priest himself prays, "From a sudden and unprovided death, deliver us, O Lord." In an emergency, however, he will know how to supply the lack of the Last Sacraments. Likewise, well-instructed Catholics know how to prepare themselves to meet the Eternal Judge when, through no fault of theirs, a priest cannot be secured. In the case of those who have not been faithful to their religious duties, and who are not well-grounded in their holy Faith, the priest will be so necessary that one dreads to contemplate the deathbed scene of such as pass into eternity without the prescribed aids of Religion.

The entry of Fr. Oliva's death was made by some ignorant layman. At all events, it is poorly spelled and written. Only the signature is in the hand of Fr. Blas Ordáz who blessed the grave

of Fr. Oliva on January 29, 1848. From March 1st to March 31st, 1848, Fr. Ordáz, moreover, buried the bodies of four persons who had died during the month. For details on Fr. Oliva's life, see the biographical sketch in a subsequent chapter.

Mention was made of Miss Apolinaria Lorenzana in connection with the church goods of Mission San Diego and the Registers of Mission San Luis Rey. It appears that, after Fr. Oliva's death and burial, she refused to remain at San Juan Capistrano. In a letter addressed to the Very Rev. José Joaquin Jimeno on January 29, 1848, the very day on which Fr. Oliva's grave was blessed by Fr. Ordáz, Miss Lorenzana gave as one reason, why she wished to leave, that she did not want to deprive herself of the Sacraments. She probably went to San Gabriel. From there she later on proceeded to Santa Barbara, where she was living as late as 1878. This noble woman deserves a more extensive recognition of her services. It will be reserved for our narrative on Mission Santa Barbara.

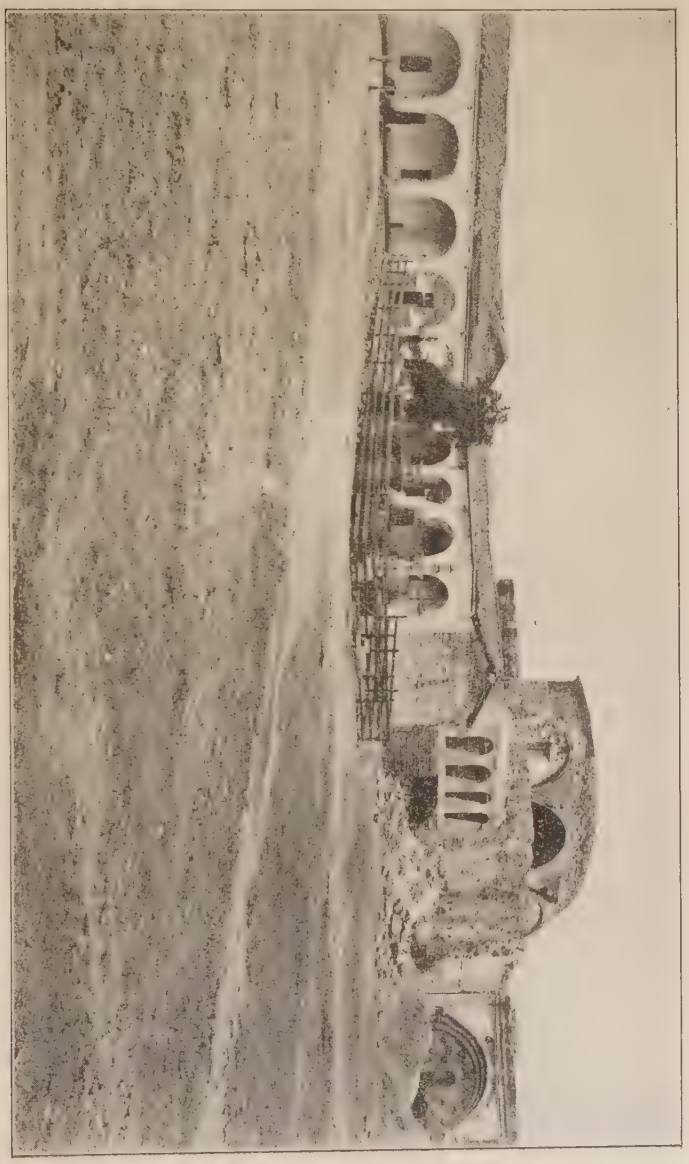
CHAPTER XXIII.

The First Resident Secular Priest.—Rev. José Maria Rosáles.—Second Burial Register.—Some Entries.—Rt. Rev. Thaddeus Amat, C.M.—Disappearance of the Indians.—Rev. Vicente Llover.—A Zealous Apostle.—Rev. José Mut's Mistake.—His Zeal.—Incurs Animosity of Land Sharks.—Fr. Serra's Church Vacated.—First Ecclesiastical Function in the Chapel.

FOR seventy-two years Mission San Juan Capistrano had been in charge of the Franciscans when Fr. Oliva, the last resident missionary, passed away in January, 1848. Although they retained jurisdiction over the place two years and a half longer, a secular priest resided at San Juan Capistrano from March, 1848. The following note in the Burial Register explains how it came to pass:

"From March 31, 1848, which is the date of the last entry made by Fr. Ordáz, Minister in charge of this Mission of San Juan Capistrano, through the entire year 1849 down to the beginning of 1850, no entry appears signed by said Father, either because he attended no burials or because no one died. It can not be calculated or known what deaths occurred, at least not of Indians. For this reason, after reaching this place and on finding it entirely abandoned, I, the priest, José Maria Rosáles, resolved to help the people here purely from an impulse of humanity and through the force which the people applied to detain me, and later with the approval of the ecclesiastical authority, since the month of February of this year, 1850. I have followed the usual order in making the entries, signing them in proof."

Father Rosáles continues the entries to the end of the first book, making the last on December 16, 1850, under number 3,466. The second book was begun on December 18, two days later, in the following terms: "Having finished the First Book, I determined, as minister in charge of this place, to let the Second Book follow, continuing the number noted in the First Book, so as to avoid mistakes, according to ages, years, and dates, in order that one may easily find the entries of the dead, of white people as well as of the Indians. This day is the solemn feast of



MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO IN 1876 VIEWED FROM SOUTHWEST.

the Nativity, December 25, in the year of the Lord, 1850. The Government is the North American. Being of the company of the first Bishop of California, who died in the year 1846, I was the first ecclesiastic in this new diocese.[1] This volume consists of 134 folios and as present minister I have signed that proof may exist. Presbitero Padre José Maria Rosáles."

The first entry in this second book is number 4,067 (which should be 3,467), and it is dated December 18, 1850. It records the burial of an Indian widow, Maria Liberata, who had received the Sacraments of Penance, Extreme Unction, and Viaticum. She was a child of the Mission.

Perhaps in passing, and in the absence of Father Rosáles, the Rev. Flavian Fontain, of the same religious congregation as Father Holbein, who has already been mentioned, interred two persons on September 23, and another on September 26, 1851. He signed himself "Misionero." More will be said about him in the narrative on San Francisco in connection with a college which he started there.

An entry dated October 4, 1853, refers to a mysterious case. Father Rosáles writes that on said day he buried in the cemetery Ramona Serrano, daughter of Leandro Serrano, and wife of J. Burruel. She had died a violent death, the details of which are not stated. She had not received the Last Sacraments, but had led a good religious life, for which there was proof.

The last entry of Father Rosáles in the Burial Register was made by him on October 27, 1853, whereupon he probably left for Mexico, as he had intended to do when the pitiable condition of San Juan Capistrano detained him. More details about him will be found in History of Mission San Buenaventura.

In September, 1863, the people of San Juan Capistrano, doubtless with few exceptions, if any at all, for the first time had the pleasure of seeing a Bishop. It was the Rt. Rev. Thaddeus Amat, C.M., *second Bishop of Monterey,* who visited the place

[1] Not correct, whatever he may mean by ecclesiastic. Rev. Miguel Gómez was ordained priest on June 29, 1842. He was the first priest elevated to the priesthood in California. Rosáles was not ordained priest till October 8, 1843. See *The Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, pp. 257-258.

and signed the Registers on September 14, 1862. The Rev. Vicente Llover had charge at the time. There is nothing on record to show that on this occasion the Bishop performed any ecclesiastical function. His drive to San Juan Capistrano must have been a dreary one, since there were no railways, no automobiles, no smooth roads as at present. His Lordship was zealous, however, and insisted on seeing with his own eyes how matters stood in the various localities. Down to the year 1872 he made four visits to San Juan Capistrano.

People often speculate as to how the Indians disappeared, who once were so numerous and prosperous. The following death entry, which finds duplicates at various of old Missions, will supply one reason. From November 16, to December 31, 1862, the Rev. Vicente Llover entered the names of 129 Indians, all of whom had died of small pox (viruela). "As I was thus occupied assisting the dying," the fearless pastor writes, "I could not fix the date in the case of every one." The epidemic must have continued some months; for on January 17, 1863, Father Llover gave burial to Salvador Cuñado, who also, at the age of twenty-eight, had died of the small pox.

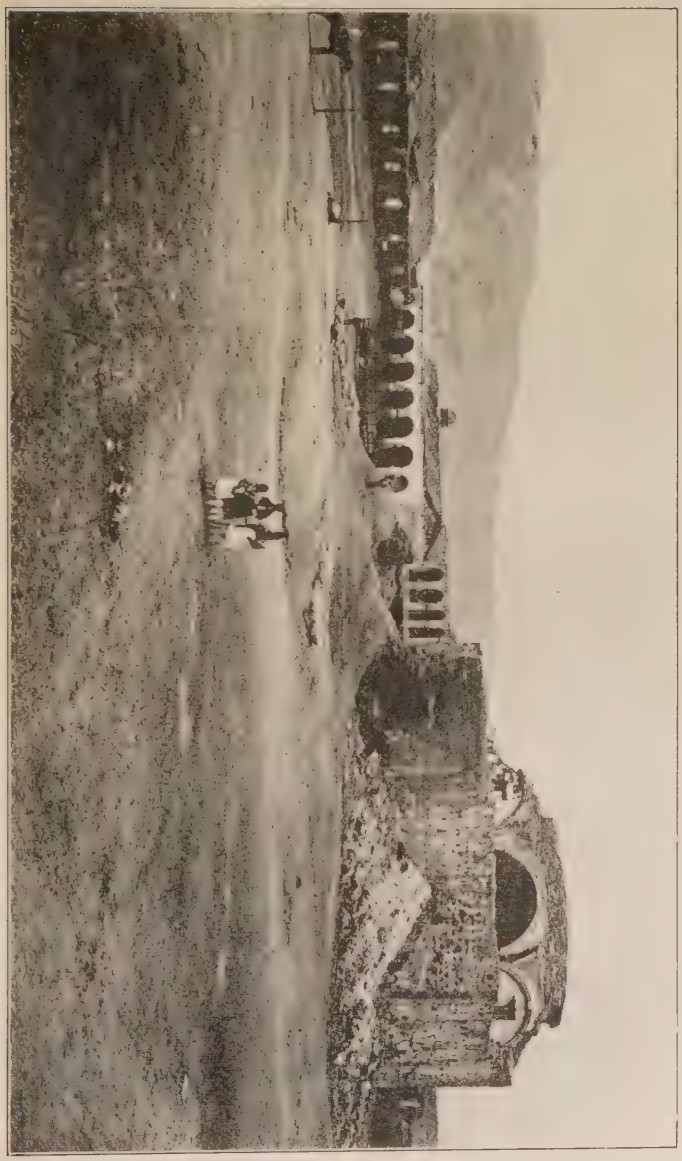
The Rev. Fathers Vicente Llover, Miguel Durán, and José Mut, who served at San Juan Capistrano successively from April, 1859, to April, 1886, had an extensive Indian territory to attend and to traverse under unfavorable circumstances. They would, however, remain long enough at a place to instruct the elders, baptize the children, bless marriages, and bless the graves of the dead. In the Registers the most notable stations mentioned are San Luis Rey, Pala, Temécula, La Cañada Verde, San Pascual, Agua Caliente (Warners), and Puerta de San Felipe. In these and other outlying districts the three zealous priests, down to August, 1878, baptized more than 1,400 persons, the great majority of whom were Indian children. Since the year 1878 these mission stations and others appear to have been visited from San Diego, wherefore all Baptisms, etc., were entered in the parish registers of that city.

A strange entry made by the Rev. José Mut on April 29, 1868, reads as follows: "I gave burial to the body of Benjamin Hocker,

single, about 50 years of age, native of Kentucky. He did not belong to the Catholic Church. In witness whereof I registered the burial in the books of this parish at the request of Henrique Charles(?).—José Mut, Priest." The missionary used the same formula as is used at the burial of a Catholic, except that he omitted the word "ecclesiastical" (burial). On the occasion of his canonical visitation, June 1, 1868, Bishop Amat detected the remarkable entry and noted on the margin, "Nec sepeliri nec registrari debuisset inter Catholicos.—Thaddeus, C.M., Episcopus Montereyensis, etc."

On one of his trips to the various Indian mission stations, Father Mut had occasion to bless the grave of a man whose name figured somewhat prominently in the early days, notably at Mission San Luis Rey. The record of the function in the Burial Register of San Juan Capistrano reads as follows; "In the cemetery of Mission San Luis Rey, on October 13, 1871, I (Rev. José Mut) gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of José Antonio Pico, who was 78 years and six months old, and married to Magdalena Vaca. He could not receive the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, and he died on March 10, 1871." Hence José Antonio Pico, the elder brother of the notorious Pio Pico, passed into eternity without having received the Last Sacraments, and his grave was not blessed until eight months after the interment. This demonstrates better than many words the scarcity of priests in Southern California at that period. For details regarding José Pico and Pio Pico, the reader is referred to the volume on Mission San Luis Rey.

On appeal from poor Californians and Mexicans, Father Mut by his counsel and otherwise, endeavored to save the little property they had always regarded as their own. He even at great expense sent an agent to San Francisco in order to thwart the machinations of landsharks. He succeeded, and the old paisano settlers still gratefully remember Father Mut's sacrifices in their behalf. On the other hand, the kindhearted pastor incurred the bitter animosity of real estate men and lawyers, who seem to have been indifferent with regard to the means they adopted to gain their point. Thus Henry Charles from San Francisco wrote to



MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO IN 1876 VIEWED FROM SOUTHEAST.

the vigilant pastor of San Juan Capistrano under date of September 18, 1869: "We went (to the Surveyor General's) and examined what the other party had been doing, and what do you think we found? We found the Affidavits of N.N.[2] swearing that there is a ciénaga at the corner stones of Boca de la Playa on the road above the place of Rosenbaum. I saw the Affidavit myself, and will bring copies of them with me." Once Father Mut found it necessary to make the tedious and expensive journey to San Francisco himself, and he appears to have been successful.

Mrs. Helen H. Jackson, for once less judicious than was her wont, allowed herself to be deceived by the disgruntled schemers; for she marred one of her splendid works by representing the priest of San Juan Capistrano as a heartlessly greedy man. She claimed that Father Mut charged a poor Indian six dollars a month for a "mere hole" in the Mission. In 1904 the writer of this happened to discover, at Mission San Miguel, Father Mut's personal Account Book, which *"begins with the 17th of August, 1866, the day on which I took charge of the parish of San Juan Capistrano,"* as Father Mut wrote. His last entry is dated June 8, 1886. We marvel how the good priest could live on what he received. Only in December, 1880, do we find any mention made of renting a room or house. Here are the two entries on the subject;—"Renta de la casa, 4 meses—20.00." Again in the same month:—"Renta de la casa, 2 meses—10.00."

So the rent was not for a hole or one room, but for a house, and it was not six, but five dollars a month, $1.25 a week. We doubt that his accusers would have let the house for the same price. At all events, if the Indian wanted that particular house, and was able to pay, which goes without saying, then he would pay what was customary. Father Mut certainly needed the money, as he had a hard time keeping soul and body together, clothing on his back, and a roof over his own head. All the rooms in the tottering quadrangle might by comparison have been termed

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[2] We in mercy suppress the names of two paisanos and two who were not paisanos, but who seem to have engineered the scheme of gobbling up land belonging to the Mission itself, as we understand. See *Archives of San Juan Capistrano Mission.*

mere holes, the priest's apartments not excluded. As he taught school in one of the front rooms, Father Mut sought to gain some decent rooms for himself by raising a part of the roof a few feet; but lack of means prevented him from building a stairway. Only by means of a rickety ladder could this loft be reached, which was more suitable for a chicken coop than for a bedroom, as the writer learned from personal observation in the fall of 1904. It was the Landmarks Club which under the direction of Mr. Charles F. Lummis, made even the front wing habitable. The illustrations tell the truth graphically enough.

Notwithstanding the priest's devotion to duty, his discomfited enemies would not rest. Some most prominent ruling spirits of the place importuned Bishop Mora to remove Father Mut; but a counter-petition from the church-going people of San Juan Capistrano and vicinity justly received more consideration, and so the much harassed priest remained. However, he finally tired of the relentless opposition of the mighty ones, and was accordingly transferred to Mission San Miguel, where he died much respected by the congregation. Thereafter San Juan Capistrano had no resident priest for twenty-four years, but was attended from Anaheim or Santa Ana, for a period also from San Luis Rey and Los Angeles.

Divine services were held in the old adobe (Fr. Serra's) church until the roof became unsafe early in 1891. The former *sala* or reception room was then turned into a chapel. It is stoutly maintained that the first ecclesiastical function in this chapel was the administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation by the Rt. Rev. Francis Mora, Bishop of Monterey and Los Angeles. Turning to the Confirmation Register, we indeed find the following unsigned and meagre entry in the hand, it seems, of the Rev. P. J. Grogan, who then attended San Juan Capistrano from Santa Ana: "A.D. 1891. San Juan Capistrano. On the 26th of April Susana 13 years, and Isidora 11 years, daughters of Moreno Forster and Guadalupe de Ábila, were confirmed. Sponsor Doña Arcádia Bandini de Baker."

Let us hope that the day may not be far distant on which the ancient Mission church, hallowed by the presence of good Fr.

TOP ROW: ONE OF THE BELLS. CORRIDOR OF LONG BUILDING. COSY CORNER.
LOWER ROW: SEARCHING THE RECORDS. CELEBRATED ANGLE.

Junípero Serra, will be re-dedicated to the Almighty, and opened to a delighted and reverent congregation.

In conclusion the reader's attention is called to the Annual Reports in tabular form on the spiritual results and on the material products of Mission San Juan Capistrano. Superficial visitors, on beholding the magnificent ruins, will infer that, after all, the aims and efforts of the Franciscans had resulted in abject failure. The thoughtful and unbiased student, reports in hand, and keeping in view the chief purpose of the missionaries, will come to a diametrically opposite conclusion. The main object of the friars, who entered California under the leadership of Fr. Junípero Serra, from first to last, was the conversion of the natives to Christianity. This was accomplished. Not a pagan remained in the district of the Mission. The Table on the Spiritual Results tells the story clearly. What all this involved has been told in the preceding chapters.

As a means to this end, the missionaries discovered that the Indians who regarded labor as degrading to the masculine sex, had to be taught industry in order to learn how to support themselves. The result was the establishment of a great manual training school comprising agriculture, the mechanical arts, and stock-raising. How well this was achieved the Tables on Agricultural Products and on Livestock demonstrate. Everything used and consumed by the Indians was produced at the Mission under the eyes of the missionaries. The neophytes not only supported themselves, but after 1811, together with other missions, sustained the whole military and civil government of California.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Biographical Sketches of the Missionaries Who Retired to the Mother College, or Died at Mission San Juan Capistrano.—Fr. Gregório Amúrrio.—Fr. Pablo de Mugártegui.—Fr. Vicente Fustér.—Fr. José Faura.—Fr. Juan José de Santiago.—Fr. José Barona.

FR. GREGÓRIO AMÚRRIO was one of twenty Franciscans who in October, 1770, set out from the Missionary College of San Fernando, Mexico, to labor in the Indian Missions of Lower California. When the friars arrived at the little Franciscan convent of Tepíc, they learned that they could not cross the Gulf of California till the *San Carlos* appeared in the beginning of February, 1771. Soon after they had boarded the vessel, a violent storm arose and drove the ship about the gulf until it ran aground off Manzanillo. Whilst Fathers Figuer and Senra again took passage in the *San Carlos,* after it had been repaired, Fr. Amúrrio with seventeen friars wandered up the coast three hundred leagues to Sinaloa opposite Loreto. One of them, however, had succumbed to the hardships, and died on the road. The governor of Lower California sent the *Concepcion* over, and on November 24, 1771, brought back to Loreto all the friars save two who had remained at Tepíc on account of ill health. Fr. Amúrrio was assigned to Mission Santa Gertrudis. When in the summer of 1773 the Franciscans surrendered the Peninsula Missions to the Dominican Fathers, Fr. Amúrrio with five other friars volunteered for the new Missions in Upper California. They arrived at San Diego on August 30, 1773. Fr. Palóu, the acting Superior, appointed Fr. Amúrrio to the Mission of San Diego. The latter began his ministry there on the same day by administering a Baptism. He remained at this post till May, 1774, when he was transferred to Mission San Luis Obispo, where his name appears for the first time in the Register of Baptisms on July 7, 1774. It seems he took passage in a ship for Monterey, for we find his name in the Register of Mission San Antonio on June 21, 1774. He then proceeded on his way to his destination. When Mission

San Juan Capistrano was to be established, Fr. Serra selected Fr. Amúrrio as the companion of Fr. Lasuén at that place. Leaving Mission San Luis Obispo late in September, 1775, Fr. Gregório hastened down to the site of the new Mission, but as we know the work was interrupted on account of the Indian revolt at San Diego. With Fr. Lasuén, Fr. Amúrrio had to remain inactive at San Diego for more than a year on account of the hostility of Captain Rivera. When Viceroy Bucareli finally ordered the work to commence, Fr. Serra himself took along Fathers Amúrrio and Mugártegui, and with their assistance founded Mission San Juan Capistrano. Both were also named first missionaries of the new establishment. On December 19, 1776, about seven weeks after the founding of the Mission, Fr. Amúrrio had the happiness to administer the first Baptism. He continued here only three years, when ill health compelled him to retire to the Mother College of San Fernando. His last entry in the Baptismal Register is dated September 1, 1779. His name appeared but once at another Mission, and that was at San Gabriel, where he assisted Fr. Serra in the administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation on November 4, 1778. For his autograph see Chapters II and XX.

Fr. Pablo de Mugártegui, like Fr. Amúrrio was a member of the Franciscan Province of Cantábria, Spain, before he joined the Missionary College of San Fernando. When Fr. Serra returned from Mexico, and landed at San Diego on March 13, 1774, he brought along Fr. Mugártegui, but had to leave him at the Mission to recuperate from an illness. We find his name in the Mission Register from March 13 to September, 1774. Proceeding by land, he baptized once at San Gabriel on September 27, 1774. Thereafter his name appears in the Baptismal Register of San Luis Obispo on November 11, 1774, and from August 20, 1775, to November 12, 1776; and at Mission San Carlos from January 8 to August 7, 1775. He was then called to the new Mission of San Juan Capistrano, and baptized there for the first time on December 25, 1776. He continued at this Mission till November 13, 1789. During this period he officiated once at San Gabriel on May 21, 1787, and at San Diego on June 19, 1789.

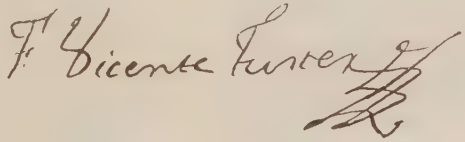
Fr. Mugártegui was regarded as worthy to succeed Fr. Presidente Lasuén in an emergency, for the College on August 16, 1786, elected him vice-presidente with authority to administer Confirmation, should the aged Fr. Lasuén pass away. He retired to Mexico, however, at the end of 1789. By order of the Commisary-General, Fr. Mugártegui on May 23, 1795, presided at the Chapter of the College which had convened to elect a Guardian and Councillors. For his autograph see page 172.

Fr. Vicente Fustér was one of the twenty Franciscans who, in October, 1770, bade farewell to the College of San Fernando de Mexico and left for the missions among the Indians of Lower California. After suffering many hardships and mishaps,[1] he arrived with fourteen companions at Loreto, on November 24, 1771, more than a year after their departure from the College. With Fr. Antonio Linares, Fr. Fustér was sent by Fr. Francisco Palóu, the Superior of the Lower California Missions, to Mission San Fernando de Velicatá, the northernmost on the peninsula. When it had been decided, early in 1772, that the Lower California Missions should be surrendered to the Dominicans, in order that the Franciscans might devote themselves to the Indians in Upper California, Fr. Fustér was among those selected to join their brethren in the north. On August 30, 1773, he arrived at San Diego with five companions of whom Fr. Palóu was the leader. He was at once appointed to assist Fr. Luis Jayme at Mission San Diego, taking the place of Fr. Tomás de la Peña. At this Mission he labored zealously till the summer of 1777. His last entry in the Baptismal Register appears under number 525 and it is dated July 27, 1777. Thereupon, he was transferred to Mission San Gabriel as supernumerary in the company of Fathers Cruzado and Sanchez. His first Baptism at Mission San Gabriel is dated December 28, 1777, on which occasion he administered the Sacrament to six Indians.

To all appearances, he had been removed to San Gabriel in order to regain his health. As has already been related in the early part of this narrative, while he was stationed at Mission San

[1] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. i, pp. 396-399.

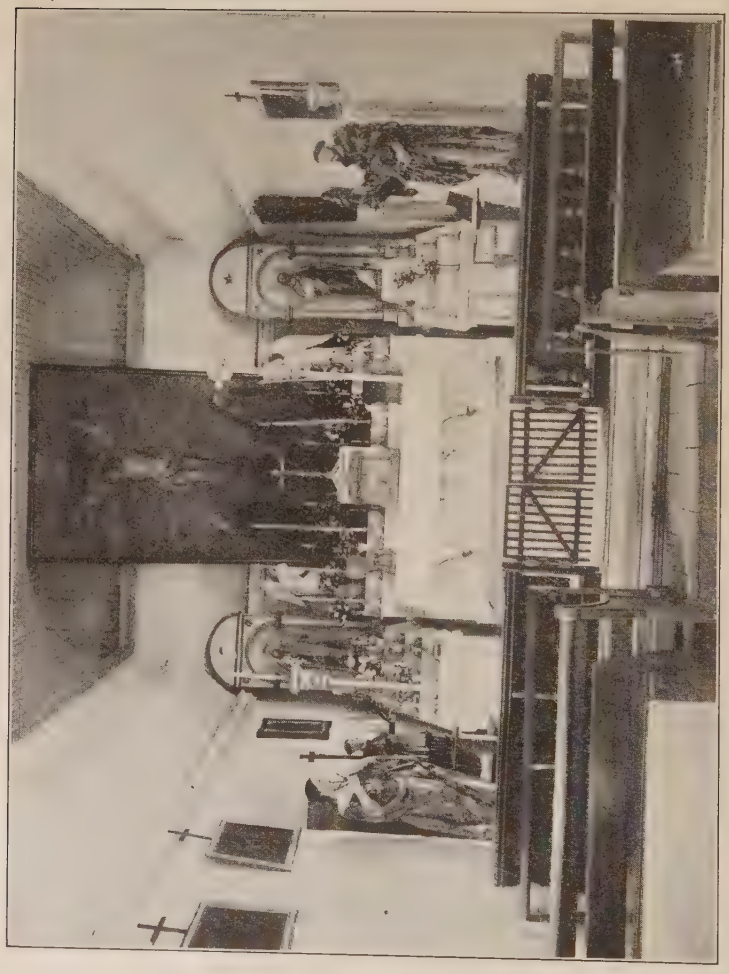
Diego, two tragedies occurred there, the destruction of the mission buildings and the martyrdom of Fr. Luis Jayme, his companion missionary, as also the excommunication of Commander Rivera with all the vexations that preceded and accompanied it. These most trying incidents, following each other at short intervals, seem to have shattered his nerves considerably, so that Fr. Serra thought it best to change him to less strenuous surroundings. Before his departure Fr. Fuster endeavored to reconstruct from memory and by dint of persistant inquiries the destroyed Mission Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials. In connection with this, he also penned a graphic description of the night of horror in which he himself had figured so prominently. His modesty restrained him from relating fully the heroic part he had taken in the battle of the little band of soldiers and attendants with the savages; but Fr. Palóu supplied the missing details, which have been incorporated in the narrative on Mission San Diego.[2]



Fr. Fustér tarried two years at Mission San Gabriel; whereupon Fr. Serra appointed him to succeed Fr. Gregório Amúrrio at Mission San Juan Capistrano. His last entry at Mission San Gabriel is dated July 8, 1779, and he entered the first Baptism at San Juan Capistrano on November 4, 1779.

In 1787, when Fr. Presidente Lasuén determined to establish Mission Purisima Concepcion, he selected Fr. Fustér and Fr. Arroita as the founders. Neither of these, however, was present at the founding on December 8, 1787, when the building activities had to be postponed on account of unfavorable weather. Fr. Fustér, indeed, entered a Baptism on January 16, 1788, at San Juan Capistrano; but he and Fr. Arroita eventually proceeded to the new mission and arrived there in the spring of that year. Fr.

[2] See also *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 169-211.



SANCTUARY OF PRESENT CHAPEL, FORMER SALA.

Fustér administered Baptism for the first time in the new church on May 10, 1788, Pentecost Sunday, in the afternoon. (Visperas de Páscua del Espiritu Santo.) The recipients of the Sacrament were three men over twenty years of age, three women over thirty years old, and two children. But Fr. Fustér remained at Mission Purisima only to the summer of 1789, entering his last Baptism on August 15. Then he returned to San Juan Capistrano, where he remained till his death, eleven years later. Three years before he passed to his eternal reward, the stone church was begun. During his time at this Mission, considerable building was done, as may be seen from the narrative. His last entry in the Baptismal Register is dated August 30, 1800, when nearly two thousand Indians had already been brought to the bosom of Mother Church. His last entry in the Burial Register is dated September 8, 1800.

The entry of his own death and burial bears number 899 and reads as follows: "On October 22, in the year of our Lord 1800, I gave ecclesiastical burial in the church of this Mission of San Juan Capistrano, on the Epistle side of the Main Altar, to the body of our beloved brother and companion, the Rev. Fr. Vicente Fustér, late missionary of this said Mission. He was a member of the holy Province of Aragon of the Regular Observance of our holy Father Saint Francis, and preacher apostolic of the College of San Fernando de Mexico. He died on the twenty-first of said month and year, having received the Sacraments of Penance, Holy Eucharist as Viaticum, and Extreme Unction, all in most perfect conformity with the Divine Will, and giving to the end of his life the most shining example of said resignation and of love to God, our Lord, and to His Most Holy Law which he preached during life by words and deeds. I was assisted in this holy function by the Rev. Preachers Apostolic Fr. Juan Norberto Santiago, missionary in charge of this same Mission, and member of the holy Province of Cantábria, and by Fr. Joseph Faura, missionary of Mission San Luis Rey and member of the holy Province of Catalonia. In witness whereof I have signed.—Fr. Pedro de San Joseph Estévan."

Subsequently, the mortal remains of Fr. Fustér were trans-

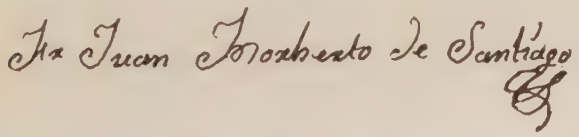
ferred to the new stone church. The event is recorded in the note which Fr. Joseph Faura appended to the description he gave of the dedication of the church. It reads: "On the ninth (of September, 1806), the remains of Fr. Vicente Fustér, late missionary of this Mission, were transferred from the old church to the new one. After the solemn Requiem Mass, which was celebrated by Fr. Pedro de la Cueva, and the sermon on the Poor Souls, which was preached by Fr. Joseph Faura, the said remains were deposited in the grave which is in the presbytery on the Epistle side. In the funeral ceremonies, besides the Fathers mentioned (at the dedication of the church), participated Fr. José Sanchez, member of the holy Province of Estremadura *supra Tagum,* who is also a member of the College of San Fernando and missionary at Mission San Diego, the first of all the California Missions; and Don Ignácio Martínez, ensign of the company of the presidio at San Diego. In witness whereof I sign this eighteenth day of October, 1806.—Fr. Joseph Faura."

Fr. José Faura, a native of Barcelona, Catalonia, received the habit of St. Francis in the Franciscan Province of Catalonia, and probably left Spain for the Apostolic College of San Fernando, Mexico, in 1798. He was sent to the Missions of California, and landed at Santa Barbara on May 7, 1798. He was immediately assigned to the new Mission of San Luis Rey, and served there from July, 1798, to May, 1800, when he was called to Mission

San Juan Capistrano. Here Fr. Faura officiated for the first time at a Baptism as resident missionary on May 30, 1800. While at Mission San Luis Rey, he had frequently visited San Juan Capistrano, and he baptized there in October and December, 1798; April, 1799, and May 17, 1800, but he always noted, as was customary with visiting Fathers, that he did so by permission of the resident missionaries. His name is also found in the Baptismal

Register of Mission San Diego in July, 1798, February and October, 1799, and August, 1800. Fr. Faura baptized for the last time at San Juan Capistrano on September 19, 1809. After the death of Fr. Fustér in 1800, Fr. Faura assisted Fr. Santiago in building the stone church. He had the satisfaction, too, of taking part in the dedication, and it was he who compiled the record of that memorable day. Toward the end of the year 1809, having served the required ten years in the Missions, Fr. José Faura was free to retire to the College. He accordingly bid farewell, and returned to Mexico. There he remained with the Community of San Fernando for nearly two years longer, and then joined the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel in the Capital City.

Fr. Juan José Norberto de Santiago was a native of the town of Samiano, in the county of Treviño, Province of Álava, Spain. He was a member of the Franciscan Province of Cantábria, whence he came to join the Missionary College of San Fernando in 1785. Fr. Santiago was then sent to California, and landed at San Francisco apparently in the fall of 1786. He seems to have



been assigned to Mission Santa Clara, as his name appears in the Baptismal Register for the first time on September 11, and continues to December 27, 1786. Then we find him at Mission San Francisco from December 27, 1786, to August 13, 1787. Meanwhile he officiated once at Mission Santa Clara on September 6, 1787. He was then named for Mission San Juan Capistrano, and seems to have taken passage in a ship for San Diego. At all events, he entered the first Baptism at his new post, San Juan Capistrano, on January 20, 1788, and remained a faithful laborer till August, 4, 1810, when he retired to his College. Meanwhile his name appears in the Baptismal Register, at San Diego on December 17, 1788, and May and July, 1797. At San Gabriel Mission he baptized once on August 3, 1803. With Fr. Fustér, Fr. Santiago is noted for planning and erecting the remarkable

EARLIEST PHOTOGRAPH OF MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO BY EDWARD VISCHER IN 1860.

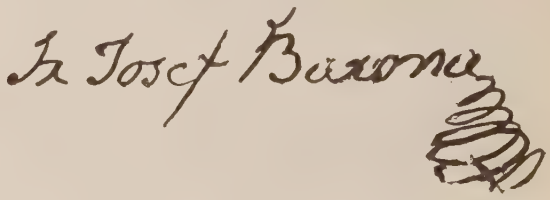
stone church of which but the ruins remain. He lived to see it completed and dedicated, but was spared the sight of its destruction. Late in the year of 1810, Fr. Santiago, in company with Fr. Domingo Carranza and Don José de la Guerra, sailed from San Diego for San Blas. The place was then in the hands of the insurgents, and consequently all were made prisoners. The Fathers were condemned to death, but happily the sentence was not executed. This happened in February, 1811. Fr. Santiago notified the Fr. Guardian, who under date of April 10, 1811, informed Fr. Presidente Lasuén, which is the last information extant about the worthy friar.

Fr. José Barona was born in July, 1764, at Villa-Nueva del Conde, in the archdiocese of Burgos, Old Castile. This we learn from the biographical sketches which Fr. Comisário Prefecto Vicente Francisco de Sarría wrote in November, 1817. The same authority tells us that Fr. Barona entered the Order of St. Francis on July 18, 1783, at the Villa de Velorado which belonged to the Province of Burgos. Nine months after receiving faculties to preach, he left Spain and set out for the College of San Fernando de Mexico, where he arrived on August 24, 1795. Sent from there, in the beginning of 1798, to the California Missions, obedience assigned him to the Mission of San Diego, where and at the presidio of the same name he discharged the duties of a missionary for a period of twelve years. "Having been transferred to Mission San Juan Capistrano," Fr. Sarría says, "he has been laboring there for seven years to date. Speaking of the years of which I can bear testimony, which are four, that is to say, since my first visitation when I learned to know him, I am bound to declare according to my understanding that he has laudably discharged his duties, inasmuch as his weak constitution does not permit him to make greater exertions. For a year he has justly solicited permission to retire from the missions; but it was not granted him because there was no one to take his place."

Fr. Mariano Payeras, the successor of Fr. Sarría, says in his biographical sketches, signed in December, 1820, that Fr. Barona's "merits are medium as also his aptitude, so he is limited to the ministry among the natives and to life in a community."

On August 4, 1798, we find Fr. Barona baptizing for the first time at San Diego. His last entry is dated January 24, 1811. Having been transferred to Mission San Juan Capistrano, he entered his first Baptism there on April 26, 1811.

The reader knows how shamefully Fr. Barona was treated by the guards, in 1823. The fact that the Father had been ailing since 1817 only aggravates the guilt of the insolent soldiers. Apparently, he never after fully recovered from the physical injuries he received on being thrown under the horse by the rude soldiers, to say nothing of the mental shock he must have suffered from such indignity inflicted on him in the presence of the Indians. In the entries he makes, it is frequently noticeable that his hand is unsteady. In fact, it seems he was unable to do much work in the three last years of his life. His name appears seldom during this period. The last entry he made in the Baptismal Register is dated January 6, 1831; but he lingered at the Mission seven months longer. During his administration, the earthquake occurred and it was his painful duty, on December 9 and 10, 1812,



to bury the thirty-nine victims of the catastrophe. On October 14, 1830, Fr. Barona buried an Indian boy. This was his last entry in the Burial Register, made with a trembling hand, which shows that he himself at the time was ill or very nervous. The entry bears number 3,015 in the list.

In the following year, his own turn came to be entered in that same Burial Register. The record reads: "No. 3,051.—On August 6, 1831, in the church of this Mission of San Juan Capistrano, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the Rev. Fr. José Varona, native of the town of Pancorbo in the diocese of Burgos and member of the Province of Old Castile in the Seraphic Order of our Father St. Francis, missionary of the Mission of San Diego

for thirteen years and of this of San Juan Capistrano for twenty years. He received the Sacraments of Penance, Holy Eucharist, and Extreme Unction, and he died in the night of the fourth (of August). In witness whereof I have signed.—Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea." Fr. Zalvidea writes the name with a V (Varona), as the deceased himself wrote it in the earlier days of his ministry.

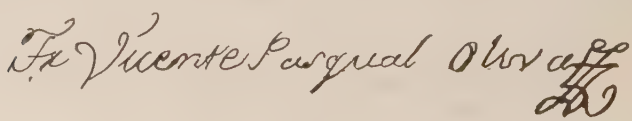
Like all the Fathers, except Peyri and Suñer, Fr. Barona, in 1826, refused to take the oath of allegiance to the bogus republic of Mexico, although they all had sworn to the Independence of Mexico. When the law of December 20, 1827, expelling all Spaniards under sixty years of age, was to be applied in California, Governor Echeandia reported on the status of all the Franciscan missionaries laboring there. Of their number he recommended some for expulsion and others for permission to remain. Of Fr. Barona he wrote on June 7, 1829: "Fr. José Barona; age, sixty-six years; broken in health; decided to take the oath in 1826 as far as compatible with his religious profession and as long as he remained in the Mexican Republic."[3] How courageously Fr. Barona defended the rights of the neophytes to their lands and property, has been related in the foregoing pages.

[3] *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iii, pp. 244, 270-273.

CHAPTER XXV.

Biographical Sketches, Continued.—Fr. Vicente Pascual Oliva.—List of the Resident and Visiting Missionaries or Priests Who Officiated at Mission San Juan Capistrano.

FR. VICENTE PASCUAL OLIVA, according to Fr. Sarría's Biographical Sketches, in November, 1817, was thirty-seven years and three months old. His native town was Martin del Rio, Archdiocese of Zaragoza, in the ancient kingdom of Aragon. He joined the Franciscan Order in the convent of Nuestra Señora de Jesus, Zaragoza, on February 1, 1799. On March 29, 1810, he embarked for the Apostolic College of San Fernando, Mexico. From there he was sent to California in the beginning of July, 1811; but owing to ill health, hardships, and the insurrection then in full swing, Fr. Oliva could not reach Monterey till August, 1813. After he had recovered his health somewhat, he was allowed to officiate at a Baptism for the first time at San Carlos on October 28, 1813. He was soon after assigned to Mission San Fernando. On the way down he baptized once at Mission San Antonio on December 30, 1813. He remained at San Fernando till the fall of 1815, meanwhile also assisting the Fathers of Mission San Gabriel, where his name appears frequently from November 24, 1814, to October 21, 1815. Called to Mission San Francisco, Fr. Vicente on the way baptized at Mission San Miguel on November 8, 1815. He began to exercise his ministry at Mission



Dolores on November 26, 1815, and continued there till the fall of 1818, leaving the Mission but once, so far as known, to be present at San Juan Bautista when that Mission celebrated its patronal feast, June 24, 1816. It was while laboring at San Francisco that Fr. Sarría in November, 1817, wrote of Fr. Oliva:

"In this great vineyard, which the Lord has prepared for Himself at that Mission and at the adjacent presidio, he labors with zealous intrepidity for its success, becoming in my opinion the hands and feet, as it were, of his good companion (Fr. Abella), inasmuch as he goes and labors where the other, owing to other occupations and greater age, is unable to go."

Fr. Vicente was next transferred to Mission San Miguel, where we find his name in the Registers from February 26, 1819, to February 25, 1820. He was then appointed for Mission San Diego. On his way down he officiated at Mission Purisima Concepcion on April 13 and 14, and on May 2 and 7, 1820. At Mission San Diego he baptized for the first time on June 28 of that year, and continued there till early in 1832. Fr. Oliva was then called to Mission San Luis Rey in order to manage the temporalities of that huge establishment, leaving the spiritual affairs to Fr. José Antonio Anzar. The latter left for the north early in 1833, whereupon the conditions were such that Fr. Vicente grew despondent. Under date of July 19, 1833, Fr. Presidente Narciso Durán, for instance, wrote of him to Governor Figueroa:

"I have seen the insubordination of these Indians, their refusal to do the work assigned to them. Half of them do not want to go out to the fisheries; and yesterday half of them did not turn up to take the tallow to the port. The Father is a veritable slave of all. He is afraid of the Indians and therefore he consents to everything. I confess that under such circumstances I should not like to be in charge of these temporalities." In consequence of these trying conditions, Fr. Oliva would occasionally fall into deep melancholy which Fr. Durán attributed to the utter solitude and to the want of a companion. Accordingly, in August, 1834, Fr. Oliva was permitted to return to his old friend Fr. Fernando Martín at San Diego, where he remained till the end of June, 1846. He then assisted at the burial, if not perhaps at the death, of Fr. Zalvidea, at San Luis Rey; whereupon he withdrew to Mission San Juan Capistrano.

Not much is known of his activities at this Mission. San Juan Capistrano had been without a priest since the departure of Fr. Zalvidea, in November, 1842, although at long intervals some

REV. MIGUEL DURAN RECITING HIS BREVIARY NEAR THE DOOR OF FR. SERRA'S CHURCH, 1886-1889.

friar would occasionally visit the place. Fr. Oliva's first entry in the Baptismal Register of Mission San Juan Capistrano is dated September 6, 1846, under number 4,611, and he signed his last entry, number 4,639, on July 11, 1847. This shows that the scattered population at the time was very small. When his time came to receive the eternal reward for the many hardships he had borne in the discharge of his priestly duties, Fr. Oliva was sixty-seven years of age, thirty-four of which he had passed in the various Missions of California, and forty-eight of which were spent in the Franciscan Order. In the end, the poor missionary was called upon to make a last supreme sacrifice—to die, like the saintly Fr. Vicente de Sarría, without the Last Sacraments. The subjoined entry of his burial tells the story.

"No. 3,425.[1]—On January 29, in the year of our Lord 1848, I performed the office of the burial in the church of this Mission of San Juan Capistrano for our beloved brother, the Rev. Fr. Vicente Pascual Oliva, late missionary of Mission San Diego, member of the holy Province of Aragon, of the venerable Observance of our Seraphic Father St. Francis, and preacher apostolic of the College of San Fernando de Mexico, who died on the second day of said month (of January) at one o'clock in the morning. He did not receive the holy Sacraments, because I could not come, owing to the great flood that occurred at the time, and owing to the fact that I myself was ill. The illness of the Rev. Fr. Vicente was very brief. However, those who assisted him assured me that he died recommending himself to God and asking His mercy to the last moment of his life. He is interred in the presbytery of said Mission on the Epistle side of the main altar. Year 1848.—Fr. Blas Ordáz." This entry, the spelling and writing of which are wretched, was made by some unknown person; only the signature is in the hand of Fr. Ordáz.

About the middle of December, 1912, the Rev. St. John O'Sullivan, pastor in charge of the Mission and parish of San Juan Capistrano, made excavations in order to find the remains of Fr. Oliva. They were disovered under a double layer of large sized

[1] By mistake the number is 4,025 in the Register.

floor tiles, on the spot designated in the Register. It was also found that the body had been buried in the sacred vestments worn by priests at the holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

As in the case of Fr. Boscana, Bancroft looked for something to gratify the prurient; but he failed again. Not satisfied, he manifested his eagerness to besmirch the good name of a priest and religious by insinuation. "Oliva's moral character," he writes, "was not in all respects above suspicion, though there is no definite evidence against him."[2] If there is no definite evidence against the priest, why mention his name in such a connection? That may be excusable in speaking of rogues, but it is contemptible tactics in the case of men whose standing entitle them to respect. Nothing in the life of Fr. Oliva warrants such a slur.

Again Bancroft writes in the same breath: "Duhaut-Cilly mentions the poor quality of food and the uncleanly service at the padre's table, and his expressions of surprise that no one seemed to care to eat with him." The fastidious Frenchman in the place indicated does not refer to Fr. Oliva at all. So the statement is untrue. We have related the incident with the proper setting in our *San Diego Mission,* p. 218. No one but a captious critic or a bigot could deduce from the Frenchman's story anything that reflects unfavorably even on Fr. Fernando Martín, Fr. Oliva's senior companion.

List of Resident and Visiting Missionaries or Priests Who Officiated At Mission San Juan Capistrano.

In the case of resident missionaries the dates indicate the day on which the particular Father officiated for the first or last time. He might have arrived much earlier and departed later, however.

Fr. Junipero Serra, October 30 to November 30, 1776.
Fr. Pablo Mugártegui, November 1, 1776, to November 13, 1789.
Fr. Gregório Amúrrio, November 1, 1776, to September 1, 1779.
Fr. Junípero Serra, October 22-24, 1778; October, 1783.
Fr. Miguel Sánchez, April, 1779.
Fr. Vicente Fustér, November 4, 1779, to August 30, 1800.

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[2] *California,* vol. v, p. 623.

Fr. Juan Figuér, June, 1780.
Fr. Miguel Sánchez, May, 1782.
Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, October, 1783.
Fr. Juan Riobó, February, 1784.
Fr. Juan Mariner, October, 1785.
Fr. Hilário Torrent, November, 1785.
Fr. Joseph de Arroita, December, 1796, to February, 1787.
Fr. Juan Norberto de Santiago, January 20, 1788, to October 10, 1810.
Fr. Hilário Torrent, October, 1788.
Fr. Cristóbal Orámas, December, 1788, to January, 1789.
Fr. José Antonio Calzada, April, 1788; May, 1789.
Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, November, 1789.
Rev. Don Alexandro Jordan, Capellan de la Reál Armada, September, 1791.
Fr. Cristóbal Orámas, January and February, 1793; July, 1796.
Fr. Hilário Torrent, November, 1792; July, 1796.
Fr. Bartolomé Gilí, November, 1793.
Fr. Diego de Nóboa, September and October, 1794.
Fr. Tomás de la Peña, October, 1794.
Fr. Juan Martín, November, 1794.
Fr. Pedro Estéban, November, 1795; October, 1796; July 1797; May, 1799.
Fr. Antonio Peyri, September and October, 1798.
Fr. José de Miguél, October, 1798.
Fr. José Faura, October and December, 1798; April, 1799.
Fr. Ramón López, O. P., November, 1798.
Fr. Francisco Xavier Uría, March, 1799.
Fr. Benito Catalán, November and December, 1799.
Fr. José de la Cruz Espí, November and December, 1799.
Fr. José Faura, March, 1800, to September 19, 1809.
Fr. Pedro Estéban, October, 1800.
Fr. Antonio Peyri, September, 1801; May, 1803.
Fr. José García, November, 1801; February, 1802; April, 1803.
Fr. Isidoro Barcenilla, January, 1803.

Fr. Juan Cortés, October, 1805.
Fr. José Antonio de Uría, April, 1807; October, 1808.
Fr. Estévan Tápis, July, 1808.
Fr. Josef Barona, August, 1808.
Fr. José Sánchez, September, 1808.
Fr. Francisco Suñer, March 4, 1810, to April 23, 1814.
Fr. Vicente Francisco de Sarría, October, 1813.
Fr. Gerónimo Boscana, October, 1813.
Fr. Josef Barona, April 26, 1811, to January 6, 1831.
Fr. Gerónimo Boscana, May 19, 1814, to January 29, 1826.
Fr. Joaquín Pasqual Nuéz, December, 1814; August, 1816.
Fr. Vicente Francisco de Sarría, August, 1816.
Fr. Joaquín Pasqual Nuéz, August, 1816.
Fr. Felix Caballero, O.P., May 1821.
Fr. Mariano Payéras, August, 1821.
Fr. José Sánchez, August, 1821.
Fr. José Maria de Zalvidea, March 4, 1826, to November 26, 1842.
Fr. José Sánchez, March and May, 1826; January, 1827.
Fr. Vicente Pasqual Oliva, February, 1827.
Fr. José Antonio Ánzar, October 24, December 31, 1831; January, March 2, 1832.
Fr. José Viadér, June, July and August, 1833.
Fr. Narciso Durán, July 26, 1833.
Fr. Tomás Esténaga, May 10, 1843, to July 11, 1847.
Fr. Vicente Pasqual Oliva, September, 1843.
Fr. Ignácio Ramírez de Arellano, O.P., August 23 to October 12, 1844.
Fr. Vicente Pasqual Oliva, September 6, 1846, to January, 1848.
Fr. Blas Ordáz, December 27, 1847, to February, 1850.
Rev. Juan Chrisóstomo Holbein, C.SS.CC., November, 1849, to February, 1850.
Rev. José Maria Rosáles, February 20, 1850, to November 27, 1853.
Fr. Francisco Sánchez, O. F. M., July, 1850.
Fr. José Joaquín Jiméno, Comisário Prefecto of the Missions, August 11 to 19, 1850.

Rev. Flavian Fontain, C.SS.CC., September, 1851.
Rev. Pedro Bagaria, November 29, 1853, to October, 1856.
Rev. Jayme Vila, November 5, 1856, to January 2, 1857.
Rev. J. Molinier, S.J., January 3, 1857, to March 23, 1859.
Rev. Domingo Serrano, May, 1858.
Rev. Vicente Llovér, April 13, 1859, to January 5, 1863.
Rev. Miguel Durán, April 13 to 19, 1862.
Rev. Cipriano Rúbio, April 26 to May 18, 1863.
Rev. Miguel Durán, August 2, 1863, to August, 1866.
Fr. Francisco Sánchez, O. F. M., November, 1865.
Rev. José Mut, August 26, 1866, to April 25, 1886.
Rev. Miguel Durán, May 15, 1886, to April 3, 1889.
Rev. Pedro Verdaguer, September 26, 27; October 23, 1886; February 27, 1887.
Rev. P. Stoeters, May 5, October 16, 1886; May 26, 1887.
Rev. José Mut, May 8, 1887.
Rev. J. Pujól, April 15, 1888.
Rev. Pedro Verdaguér, November 26, 1888.
Rev. Antonio Ubach, March 3, 1889.
Rev. M. Liébana, April 7, 1889.
Rev. Juan Caballería, May 17, 1889.
Rev. William Dempflin, O.P., June 30 and October 13, 1889.
Very Rev. Joaquín Adam, July 4, September 14, 1889.
Rev. H. Curran, October 17, 1889, to October 19, 1890.
Rev. P. Grogan, December 10, 1890, to September 25, 1892.
Fr. Bonaventure Fox, O.F.M., November 1 and 7, 1892.
Rev. A. Neidhaer, December 4, 1892, to May 12, 1893.
Fr. José J. O'Keefe, O.F.M., May 28, 1893, to February 8, 1903.
Rev. R. J. Byrne, March 1 and 15, 1896.
Rev. P. Stoeters, May 17, 1903, to January, 1905.
Rev. Joseph O'Reilly, February 7, March 6, 1904.
Fr. Lucius Zittier, O.F.M., April 2, 1905, to August 19, 1906.
Fr. Severin Westhoff, O.F.M., October 7, 1906, to July 5, 1907.
Fr. Humilis Wiese, O.F.M., July 28, 1907, to June 6, 1909.
Rev. Alfred Quetú, February 6, 1910, to July 28, 1914.
Rev. St. John O'Sullivan, July 26, 1910—

SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO, O. F. M. (ST. JOHN CAPISTRAN.)

APPENDIX

A

ST. JOHN CAPISTRAN, PATRON OF THE MISSION.

John, surnamed Capistran from his native city in the diocese of Sulmona, Italy, was born in 1385. Month and day of his birth are not known. His father, whose parents were of the nobility, died early. Therefore, John's education devolved on his mother. Under her eyes, at home, he was instructed in the primary branches and in Latin. Thereupon, she had him attend the university of Perugia, where he studied civil and canon law with great success. About 1412, John married the daughter of a prominent citizen of Perugia. In the same year, King Ladislaus of Naples appointed the youthful jurist Governor of Perugia. In this position, it was John's endeavor to eradicate civic corruption and bribery. In 1416, dissensions arose between Perugia and the Malatesta Family that controlled a number of cities in the Romagna and the March Ancona. John was selected to propose peace. But the powerful foe cast him into prison. The treatment he received here and the fact that the king himself abandoned him, set the young man meditating on the inconstancy of earthly things. Accordingly, on obtaining his liberty, he immediately decided to choose the religious state. His wife had meanwhile died, or as some historians will have it, she consented to his entering some religious order. At all events, on October 4, 1416, John Capistran was received into the Franciscan Order. He was then thirty-one years of age.

Under St. Bernardine of Siena he studied theology. While still in deacon's orders, in 1420, Fr. John Capistran, as he was henceforth known, received faculties to preach; but his real apostolic labors began in 1425 when he was ordained priest. Thenceforth he toiled incessantly for the salvation of souls. He traversed the whole of Italy; and so great were the crowds that came to listen to him, that often the pulpit had to be erected in the public squares. During the time, all traffic would cease. On one occasion, while he was preaching a mission, more than two thousand sick were brought to him that he might restore them to health; so great was the faith that the people had in the efficacy of his prayers. He also joined St. Bernardine of Siena in propagating the devotion to the Most Holy Name of Jesus. It was in this matter that the two friars together with a number of other Friars Minor were accused of heresy and called to Rome to answer the charge. Fr. John was chosen their spokesman and his learned defense resulted in their complete acquittal.

He might have been a great speaker and yet forget himself; but he was deeply imbued with the spirit of St. Paul who feared just that danger—to be a cast-away after having preached to others. Hence, like the Apostle of Gentiles, Fr. John kept his flesh in subjection. From the time that he made his vows as a Franciscan, Alban Butler relates, Fr. John ate only

a day, except on long missionary tours when he took an exceedingly scant collation at night. For thirty-six years he never tasted flesh meat, except out of obedience when he was ill. He slept on boards and rested only three or four hours of the night, employing the remainder of the time in prayer and meditation. In addition, the saintly friar practiced various kinds of mortification, as is customary with austere saints, in order to arrive at a complete contempt of self and of everything not connected with the Divine Master. Fr. John celebrated holy Mass every day with most edifying fervor. What wonder that a man so filled with the spirit of a St. Paul should effect such extraordinary conversions and reforms. At the end of a sermon which he preached against the frivolous fashions and amusements of the time, the women of all classes brought together a great quantity of false hair, perfumes, superfluous fineries, cards, dice, and similar things abounding in idle society. A great bonfire was made of it all. The same occurred at Nuremberg, Leipzig, Frankfort, Magdeburg, and other places. For the saint carried his warfare against sin and corruption into Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, etc. In consequence of one sermon which he preached in Bohemia on the Last Judgment, 120 young men were so moved that they left the world and entered various religious orders, sixty becoming Friars Minor or Franciscans.

Frequently Fr. John was employed by the Popes in important commissions to various rulers. For instance, in 1439, he was sent as papal legate to Milan and Burgundy. In 1446, he went to the King of France on a weighty mission. At the request of the Emperor, he proceeded to Austria as Apostolic Nuncio. While holding this office, he traversed the whole Empire, preaching against the Hussite heresy. He visited also Poland at the request of King Casimir IV. On May 26, 1453, Constantinople fell into the hands of Mahomet II. The Turkish conqueror was so flushed with his victory as to contemplate making himself master of all Christendom. Accordingly he led his formidable hordes into Hungary. In 1454, Fr. John Capistran, whom all Europe now regarded as a saint, was summoned to the Diet of Frankfort in Germany, in order to assist in the deliberations for a crusade against the Turks. Pope Calixtus III, in 1455, finally empowered him to preach a crusade, to collect an army against Mahomet, whose victorious hordes at last, on June 3, 1456, appeared before Belgrade. King Ladislaus V fled to Vienna; but John Corvin, better known as Hunyades, governor of Hungary, gathered what forces he could and then besought Fr. John to hasten to his aid with the forty thousand crusaders he had enlisted. Armed with only the crucifix he had received from the Pope, and carrying a banner on which the initials of the Holy Name, I.H.S., were inscribed, Fr. John Capistran led the left wing of the Christian army. His presence and his exhortation encouraged the despairing soldiers to conquer the enemy of their Faith or to die as martyrs. Thus reanimated the Christians routed the far superior forces of Mohamet who finally, on August 6, raised the siege and

fled with his hordes in wild confusion. The Cross had triumphed over the Crescent. It was generally conceded that the decisive victory had been won through the prayers of the Christians, especially of Fr. John, rather than by force of arms.

The brave Hunyades died from a fever on September 10, 1456, little more than a month after the victory. Fr. John Capistran never quitted the hero during the sickness, and at his burial he preached the funeral sermon. The saintly friar himself survived the noble commander only six weeks. Exhausted from a most active and austere life spent in the service of his Divine Master, he was seized with a fever which was aggravated by other painful maladies. Despite excruciating pains, he never ceased to praise God who, he declared, treated him much too leniently. Nor would he lie in bed, but spent his last moments on the bare floor. In this position he passed away on October 23, 1456, at the age of seventy-one years. The usual severe process inaugurated for the beatification of the servant of God clearly demonstrated that he had practiced the theological and the moral virtues in an heroic degree, and that during his life and after his death numerous miracles testified in what favor he stood with Almighty God. Accordingly, the humble friar and apostolic preacher, Fr. John Capistran, was beatified by Pope Alexander VIII, in 1690, and canonized by Pope Benedict XIII, in 1724.

St. John Capistran, despite the multiplicity of his duties, found time to write several works called forth by the exigencies of the times in which he lived. Among these the chief are *A Treatise on the Authority of the Pope,* which was directed against the bogus council of Basel; *The Mirror of Priests; A Penitential; On the Last Judgment; On Antichrist and the Spiritual Warfare; Various Tracts on Civil and Canon Law.* Other works of his on the Blessed Virgin, on the Passion of Christ, and some writings against the murderous Hussites of Bohemia, never appeared in print.

B

THE ORIGINAL SITE OF MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

It has been asserted that Mission San Juan Capistrano was originally established at a place called Mission Vieja, about five miles up the creek, or Rio del Agua Caliente; that Fr. Lasuén in 1775 buried the bells there; and that they were never recovered. There is no evidence to support this opinion. Fr. Palóu relates that Fr. Serra arrived on the spot where the Cross had been planted by Fr. Lasuén in the preceding year; that the Cross was still standing; that he disinterred two bells; and that he then proceeded to found the Mission. Nowhere is there any allusion made to a change of site. The present location of the Mission is therefore the original site. What is called Mision Vieja was nothing more than a rancho of the Mission.

Conslusive proof may be obtained from the diaries of Gaspár de Portolá, of Miguel Costansó, and especially of Fr. Juan Crespi, who all came up

CAMINO REAL, DRAWN IN 1850 BY LT. CAVE J. COUTS.

with the first expedition in July, 1769. With their aid the road from Mission San Luis Rey may be traced exactly. Portolá, however, gives little more than the dates and the hours passed on the journey. "On the 18th of July," for instance he writes, "we proceeded for three hours, . . . and halted in a most inviting valley. Here we rested a day." (This was the valley which Fr. Crespi named for San Juan Capistrano, where Mission San Luis Rey was founded twenty-nine years later.) "On the 20th," Portolá writes, "we proceeded for three hours. . . . On the 21st we travelled for two hours . . . On the 22nd we proceeded for three hours and a half. . . . On the 23rd we proceeded for four hours. . . . On the 24th we proceeded for about three hours and a half, and halted in a gully which had water, pasture, and many trees, where we came upon an Indian village of about fifty persons. We rested for one day."

Here we have the expedition arriving overland, not along the ocean, which is not mentioned at all by Portolá, at or somewhere near the site of Mission San Juan Capistrano. This road was always taken by the Fathers, and called the Camino Reál, until it had become possible to travel along the ocean shore. Comparing the time employed with the distances given by Costansoó, the reader will be enabled to follow the route exactly to our Mission.

Costansó is a little more explicit, inasmuch as he notes the leagues travelled and the latitude taken by him. "Tuesday, July 18," he writes, "the place where we halted was exceedingly beautiful and pleasant, a valley of remarkable size, etc." (This was San Luis Rey Valley, two leagues from Santa Sinforosa, the last stopping-place.) "Thursday, July 20, we set out following one of the cañons that terminated on the northern side of the valley. . . . The day's journey was two leagues. To this place we gave the name Santa Margarita.—Friday, July 21. After two leagues of travel we halted on the western side of the cañon of Santa Margarita. The watering-place consisted of some pools. . . . We gave it the name of Cañada de los Rosáles, on account of the great number of rose bushes. Distance from San Diego, 17 leagues.—Saturday, July 22, following the course to the northwest . . . we arrived at the watering-place distant three leagues from the starting-point. . . . At this place the Fathers baptized two children of natives that were dying. From San Diego, 20 leagues.—Sunday, July 23, we came to another cañon to which we gave the name Santa Maria Magdalena. . . . The watering-place was very copious—the water being held in pools among reeds and rushes. (They had reached the arroyo del Agua Caliente.) Distance from San Diego, 23 leagues.—Monday, July 24. We set out, taking the course to the north-northwest; . . . we turned to the west and reached the top of some low hills. Afterwards, crossing a considerable stretch of level country, we entered another cañon, very picturesque, which ran at the foot of a high range, containing a stream of water and many trees. We pitched our camp to the east on level ground. (They

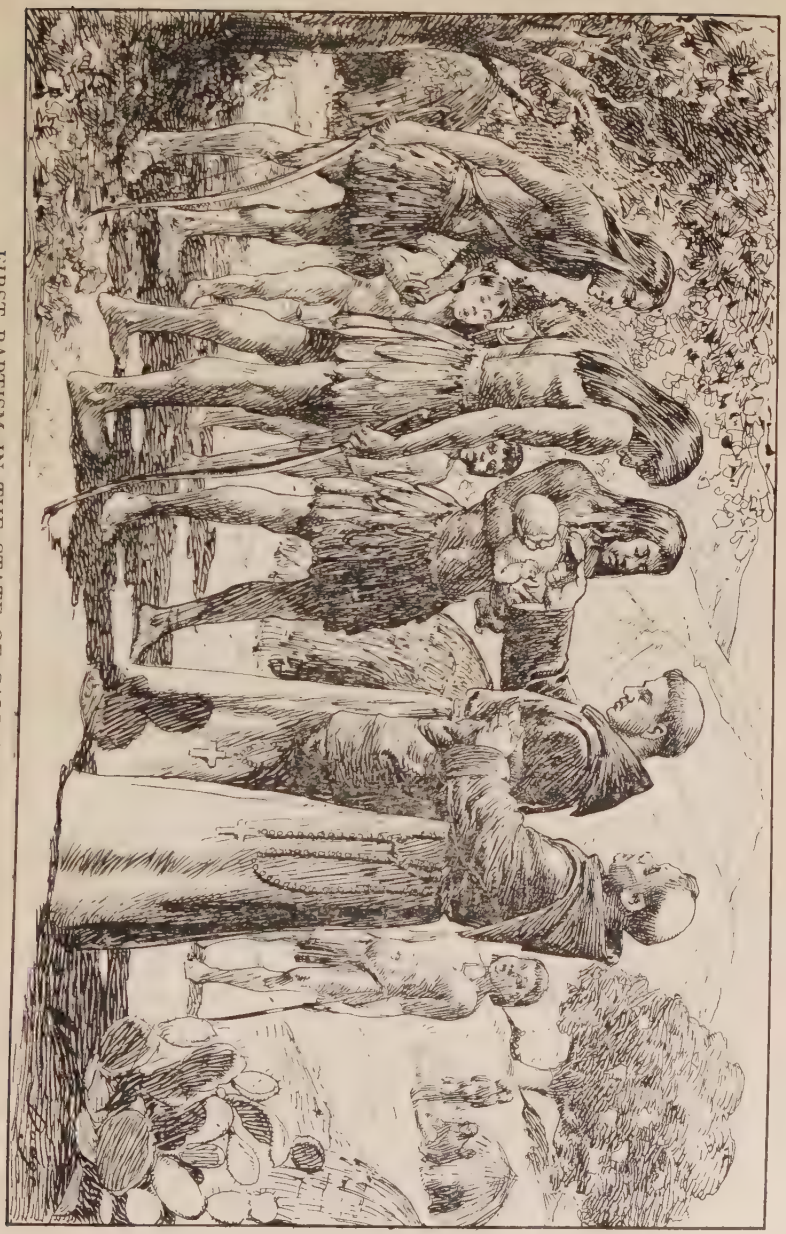
had passed the present Mission site, and were on or near the Trabuco. Distance from the last camp, where they had emerged from Santa Magdalena Cañon, three leagues. Distance from San Diego, 26 leagues, which is the distance the Fathers reported annually when the Mission had been founded.)—Tuesday, July 25. We rested in the cañon described, which we called the Cañada de San Francisco Solano. Early in the morning the scouts set out to examine the country; they returned in the afternoon with the news of having found a watering-place, but at a distance of six leagues or more." (Thus far Costansó.)

Fr. Juan Crespi's *Diário* goes more into detail. We shall, however, reproduce only the substance, beginning with the site of the later San Luis Rey Mission. He writes: "July 18, I gave to this valley, which is excellent for a Mission, the name of San Juan Capistrano (which was changed to San Luis Rey later.) . . . I made observations and found that we were in 33 degrees and 6 minutes. The journey from the last camping-place was about two short leagues.—July 19, we remained here.

"Thursday, July 20. We broke camp at about seven in the morning. . . . Taking a course straight to the north, we passed through a cañada about one league long. . . . . We went up a small hill and came to table lands. . . . At a distance of about a league and a half, we came to another valley. We pitched the camp in this valley, near a pool of sweet water. . . . Since we arrived here on the day of St. Margaret, we gave the place the name of the holy virgin and martyr, Santa Margarita.

"Friday, July 21. We left this morning, taking a northwesterly course, because the mountains prevented us from going straight north. . . . We halted near some water hidden among the grass. . . . The site is covered with numberless grapevines, rosebushes of Castile, and many other flowers. For this reason we named the place La Cañada de Santa Praxédis de los Rosáles. . . . I took the meridian and found the place to be in 33 degrees and 10 minutes. The day's journey was two leagues.

"Saturday, July 22. At about seven o'clock we continued our course toward the west. . . . At about eleven o'clock, having traveled four leagues, more or less, we arrived at a pool of water. . . . Near this pool we camped. Our scouts informed us that yesterday they had found two sick baby girls in a rancheria. We therefore asked the comandante (Portolá) for an escort of soldiers, and then visited them. We found one of the children to all appearance dying on its mother's breast. We begged her for permission to examine the child; but, although we tried to make the little girl understand that it was not our intention to harm her—that we desire only to wash her head in order that, if she should die, she might go to heaven, the child refused to loosen her hold on her mother. At last we induced the mother to let us carry out our desire. Thereupon, my companion, Fr. Francisco Gómez, baptized the little girl, giving her the name Maria Magdalena. Later on, we visited the other sick girl, who was badly



FIRST BAPTISM IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, JULY 22, 1769.

burnt and seemingly also at death's door. We baptized her under the name of Margarita. . . . On account of this incident the soldiers called the place Los Cristianos. I named it San Apolinário, and to others it is known as La Cañada de los Bautismos, (Cristianitos, to-day).

"Sunday, July 23. After both of us had celebrated holy Mass, the expedition continued at about seven o'clock, taking the course for the north-northwest. The ascent began after we left camp; but it was not rugged, only soil covered with grass. *Having arrived at the pass* (hence not along the ocean shore), we journeyed along, ascending and descending tablelands, hills, cañadas, and dry creeks, all the land covered with pasturage. We crossed two cañadas having two dry creeks, but plenty of alder trees and large oaks. In the cañadas we came upon a rancheria of Indians, who began to shout as soon as they perceived us, and then accompanied us to the watering-place, where we intended to stop. During our four hours' march we traveled four leagues. A little before, we reached a very plasant valley containing many willow, alder, oak, and other trees unknown to us. This cañada has a large arroyo, which at the place where we crossed it had a considerable flow of good sweet water, but which after running a short distance became muddy and lost itself in the tulares. We pitched camp, and the cañada (through which they had come), received the name Santa Magdalena. During the day's journey we discovered two fine veins of ochre, one of red and the other of a very white earth. Both are situated on some hills. We passed them and at once concluded that the Indians make use of this substance for painting their bodies, as it is the only dress they wear in their visits and war dances. I took the meridian at the cañada of Santa Maria Magdalena, and found we were in 33 degrees and 14 minutes. (Hence their camp was in the bed of low lands of the Rio or Arroyo del Agua Caliente, also called Rio de San Juan Capistrano, about a mile, or a mile and half, below the fictitious Mision Vieja site).

"Monday, July 24. At a quarter past six we took the course to the north-northwest. *We traveled down toward the ocean* and the cañada, which, as we had already noticed, runs in the same direction. After going in it a short distance, we found two rancherias of considerable size. . . . We kept on along this cañada for about two leagues. . . . This cañada has from mountain to mountain a width of about five hundred *varas*. Having traveled two leagues, more or less, (they had reached the site of the later Mission), *we changed our course to the northwest,* inclining greatly toward the west, so as to reach a high pass by a gently sloping and grassy hill. After going a league farther across some good tableland, we went down a pleasant arroyo and cañada, which were well supplied with large alder and oak trees, resembling a fig orchard. About three hours after setting out (in the morning), during which time we had covered about the same distance (*i.e.* three leagues), we pitched camp on a very long tableland, lying at the foot of a high mountain, and through which runs an arroyo with good

water. . . . The scouts reported that on the day before, standing on the summit of a hill, they had distinctly perceived six islands. Some of us climbed the hill, but could see only two which we were told might be San Clemente and Santa Catalina, the latter opposite us. . . . As we arrived at this place on the day of the Apostle of the Americas, we gave it the name San Francisco Solano, so that through his intercession we might be able to carry out the conversion of its gentle Indians by establishing for them a Mission in this place dedicated to him."

Fr. Lasuen in October, 1775, when selecting a site for the Mission did not consider the locality named by Fr. Crespi the most suitable for such a purpose. He decided on a spot nearer to the ocean, where water was available from two streams. There he planted the Cross, and there Fr. Serra a year later established the Mission. In obedience to the viceroy's instructions, it was not named San Francisco Solano, but San Juan Capistrano.

To clinch the statement that the Mission was first established just where it is to-day, we may refer to Colonel Juan B. Anza, who, according Bancroft (vol. i, p. 249, note 18) on February, 8, 1776, found the site of the contemplated Mission of San Juan Capistrano, and the unfinished buildings unoccupied. He did not describe the location; but, Fr. Pedro Font, O.F.M., who accompanied the expedition of Anza as chaplain, in his *Diário,* supplied the details wanted. After travelling from the Rio de Santa Ana fourteen leagues, Fr. Font writes, about five east-southeast, four southeast, we reached a little stream called the Trabuco. It was so named by the first expedition (Portolá's) because at that place they lost a blunderbuss. We then continued the rest of the way till we arrived at the camping-place called Quema, also known as Arroyo de Santa Maria Magdalena. *Between this and the sea is the place for the new Mission of San Juan Capistrano,* which they have begun to establish, but which was abandoned on account of the revolt which occurred two months ago.

Finally we have Fr. Palóu who relates the planting of the Cross by Fr. Lasuén, and the founding of the Mission on the same site by Fr. Serra. He makes no mention of any change in the locality. To remove all doubt, Fr. Palóu adds the important remark that the Mission stands half a league (rather a league) from the sea, and that from the *Mission buildings the ships can be seen cruising on the ocean.* -Desde las casas se ve la mar y los barcos quando cruzan, pues dista de la playa como media legua."

C

A MORNING HYMN.

1. The dawn appears and ushers in the day,
   Ave Maria! fondly let us pray.
2. For sinners' consolation wert thou born,
   First ray of hope and brilliant star of morn.

3. Thy birth, O Queen, is Heaven's richest boon,
   It fills the earth with joy, dispels sin's gloom.
4. The cunning serpent writhes and coils in pains,
   Lest it do harm, thou fetterest it with chains.
5. At sound of thy sweet name, O Virgin chaste,
   Doth tremble hell, and demons fly in haste.
6. With voices glad and joyful let us sing,
   A hymn to Mary, Mother of our King!

D

THE BELLS OF MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

When Fr. Lasuén in October, 1775, came to establish Mission San Juan Capistrano, he brought along two church bells. The Indian revolt of November 4, 1775, at Mission San Diego, caused the founding to be postponed. Everything portable was taken to San Diego except the two bells. These were buried on the spot. In the following year, Fr. Serra arrived to establish the Mission. The Cross which Fr. Lasuén had planted was still standing. The two bells were disinterred, and placed in position to announce to the Indians of the region that now the Mission would be founded for their welfare. This happened on November 1, 1776. The bells served their purpose, how long we do not know, for they are not among the four that grace the belfry of San Juan Capistrano. The present bells bear dates of a much later period.

The inscription on the largest of the four bells reads as follows: VIVA JESUS, SAN VICENTE ADVON DE LOS RRS PS MIROS F VICTE FUSTER I F JN SNTIAGO, 1796.

The words are abbreviated. In English this inscription reads: "Blessed be Jesus. Saint Vincent in honor of the Reverend Missionary Fathers Fr. Vicente Fustér and Fr. Juan Santiago, 1796."

The next bell, in size, bears this inscription:

AVE MARIA PURISIMA ME FESIT RUELAS I ME YAMO S. JUAN, 1796.

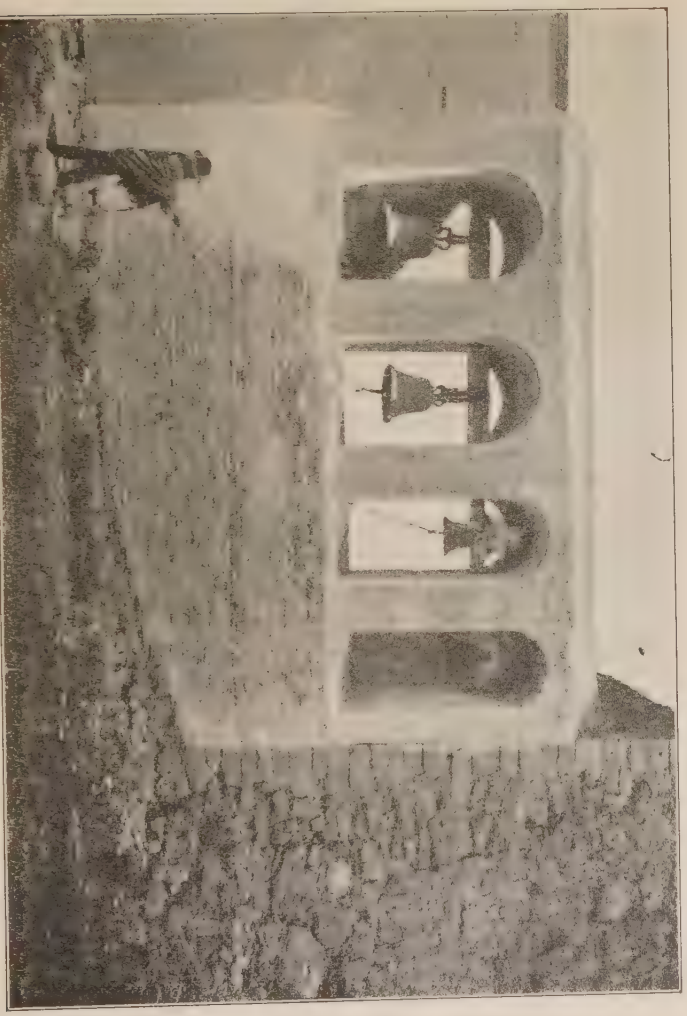
In English this means: "Hail Mary Most Pure. Ruelas made me, and I call myself San Juan, 1796."

The third smaller bell has this inscription:

Ave Maria Purisima, Sn. Antonio, 1804, which in English means: "Hail Mary Most Pure, San Antonio, 1804."

The inscription on the smallest bell reads: Ave Maria Purisima, San Rafael, 1804.—"Hail Mary Most Pure, San Rafael, 1804."

According to Father O'Sullivan, a bell, in the Mission days, hung at the west end of the front corridor, where the outlines of a blocked-up gateway, that once opened into the yard of the children's quarters, may be made out. This probably regulated the exercises of the day.



JOSÉ DE LA CRUZ (OLD ACÚ), AND THE MANNER OF RINGING THE BELLS.

E

INDIAN RANCHERIAS MENTIONED IN THE BAPTISMAL REGISTER OF MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO.

Collected and arranged, September, 1919, by Miss Estella R. Clemence of Washington, D. C.—Most of the names occur but once, and may refer to a family. Those in *italics* occur most frequently.

Abage;—Aguahe, Aguai, Acuahe; —Aguam, Aguama;—*Alauna,* Alaugua (Trabuco);—Amauge, *Amaugenga;—Ange;*—Anó, Enó, Anójat, Anojuic;—Anonga;—Apéne;—Attá, Atoo;—Atosmíy, Athosmeye;—Axaxa, Axaxat, Exaxa;—Angé, Aule.

Caba, Cabanét, Cabanay;—Cababet;—*Cachenga;*—Caguelna;—*Captivit, Acaptivit;*—Caubeube; Cebole; Cevouvit; Chacape, *Chacāpupuga*;—Chamaichpa;—*Chiay* (La Punta);—Chivi;—Chiuca, Chiúque, Chiutque;—Chon-Nouá;—Clague;— Cocibe;—Coicoya; — Colime;—Cotomebet;—Cua, Guáa, Quaa, Chaá;—Caulama;—*Cuchamá*;—Cugue, Cugu, Cugui;—*Cupa* (Warner's Ranch);—Cusicsi;—Cutuya;—Cuttysic.

Ebegue;—Eime;—Eletubutud.

Giong;—Guacavena;—Guacevepet, *Guajavepet;*— Guáche; — Guáchenga, *Guegenga;—Genga;*—Guajaumere, Guajaimeie;—Guangua;—Guapa;—Guariba;—Guasgui;—Guaynogun;—Guayua, Guehague; — Gueche, Guich;—Guahueva, Guévenga;—Guejebe, Guejave, Huagave; Guellme, Eguéllme;—Gueni;—Guenabmeye, Guenabme;—Guetnga;—Gugue;— Guisesam; — Guisiguis;—Guicharumbe;—Guichmai;— Guichim; — Guijaie, Cguijaie, — Guichancomi, Guichonquimic;—Guillicome, Guillucume;—Guiva, Guibar, Guivaha;—Guiumal;—Guivayvit;—Gunipa, Juanipa;—Gutichanpa.

Hancome;—Havume;—*Henga*;—*Huhunga*;— Hictevi; — Huchumenga; — Huiva, Huihiva;—Huichme, *Huismic* (Las Flores);—Huonelma.

Jajame;—*Jayabit;*—Jojoviavit;—Jolollа; — Jopiarte;—Julbenga, *Julbe,* Julmeme;—Jumuvat;—Jumaima;—Jumalma.

Kechinga, Guechinga, Kengas.

Lacuiac, Lacoye;—Llecupe, Lecupe, Lucupe;—Llecupenga.

Mauhatpa;—Malaquelac;—*Melijo*;—Mepqueme, Mepocomainga;— Mozc, Mugoxe, Minageneme;—Mocuiachem, Mocuache.

Nacomeye, Nacomaye, Naccome;—Nabojich;—*Nochuchem.*

Occheme (Las Flores);—Oique;—Olalma, Ulalma, Alolma;—Onalma, Unalma, Onelma.

Paameule; — Pabaotum; — Pachave; — Pachan, Pachaumie;—Pacheme, Patchoumie;—*Pachenga,*.. Pagangua; — Pacsé, Pacseve, Pagse; — Paumo, Páhmo;—Pague, Pacuei, Pajave;—Pagevepet, Pagevet, Pagaba;—*Páhamua;* —Pajabja;—Pala, Palva;—Pamache, Pamechic;—Pameyé, Pamaúe, Pamameye;—*Pangé, Pangivit* (San Mateo);—Pámgenga;—Pamasce;—Paple, *Paplenga,* Papelag;—Pasague; — Paseve, Patzeve; — Pasqueba, Patchguba; — Payábaipán;—*Patzcunga,* Patzenga;—Pavepet;—Pechangmaye, Pichnmii;—

Paviva (Topome);—Pimichi, Pilmic;—Pivitz;—Pivivit;—Polavo;—*Pomó,* Pmunga, Pomaneye;—Pomuse;—*Posba;*—Posoceme;—Poyalgue, Poialchue;—*Pituide* (Caphuit);—Pataba;—Puvuvit.

Quanís-savit, Quinisavit (Tobani).

Sajameye, Sajamaie, Sajmai;—Saganga;—*Sajivit;* Sacape, *Sigibit;*—Sebonga, Seboa, Sevouhe;—Seegna, Sejiba, Sehem;—Sicsicii;—Siguasi;—Scuma;—Stuhunga;—Suchchi, Zóucche.

Tabube;—Taccae, Tague, Toque, Teque;—Tacma, Tácuma;—Taopamaye; Tchemeinga;—Teespa;—Teméco, *Temécula,* Temecume;—Teguecnga;—Thunga, Thuna;—Tismume;—Tobe, Tube, Touve;—*Tobna,* Tobane;—Togme, Tojoome;—Tollma;—Tolatpe;—Toleopoma;—Toamche;—Tomna;—Tomapipe;—Tómome, Túmume, Thumume;—Toncave;—Topapgna;—Topomaynga, Topome, Topomignam;—Totlougue;—Totpam;—Totqui;—Totzemnga;—Toulepa, Touletpa, Totleuma;—Toulecpé, Toulelme;—Tubunga;—Tucamuchi;—Tuge;—Tupas;—Tuhove (Tuhose?);—Tuivi.

Uasná;—Uchenga;—Uchmeie, Uchme;—Uchivit, Uhibet;—Uhéche;—Uhimi;—Uho, Huhu;—*Uhunga,* Unga, Huhunga;—Utiba;—Unague;—Utugui.

Yaminaguit;—Ycayé;—Yornave;—Yumuhe.

Zajaicippe;—Zanchega;—Zangaimet;—Zeuchunga;—Zocuich, Zouguich.

F

THE LANGUAGE OF THE ACAGCHEME INDIANS AT MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO.

Eugene Mofras, in his *Exploration,* vol. ii, p. 394, offers a version of the Lord's Prayer, which he claims to have been in use at San Juan Capistrano Mission. As in the case of his version from San Luis Rey Mission, we found that the survivors of Mission San Juan Capitrano Mission could not understand Mofras's rendition of the *Pater Noster.* It is therefore useless to reproduce it here as a specimen of the Acágcheme language spoken at this Mission.

The Rev. Father O'Sullivan, in charge of the parish of San Juan Capistrano, by dint of much questioning finally elicited from José de la Cruz, commonly known as Acú, the last of his tribe, a list of Indian words and phrases which may be confidently accepted as correct Acágcheme. They are reproduced as communicated. We first call the attention of the linguist to a peculiarity observed in all the Algonquin dialects of the Northern States. In ordinary conversation the substantive is usually coupled with the pronoun in the first, second, or third person. For instance: *No-yúh,* my head. *O-yúh,* thy head. *Po-yúh,* his head. Again: *No-máh,* my hand. *O-máh,* thy hand. *Po-máh,* his hand. Similarly in the plural, the same pronoun will be used.

LIST OF INDIAN WORDS.

My father, *No-nah.*—My wife, *No-schwam.*—My son, *No-cam.*—My mother, *No-yoh.*—My brother, *No-pá-ash.*—I am a man.—*No-ye-itch.*—My foot, *No-éh.*

Acorn, *Weé-witch.*—Man, *Ye-itch.*—Sun, *Temet.*—Moon, *Mó-il.*—Star, *Shroó-edl.*—Sky, *Toó-petch.*—Earth (world), *Eh-edl.*—Deer, *Shrookt.*—Bear, *Hoó-nut.*—Lion, *Toó-cut.*—Coyote, *A-nóh.*—Rabbit, *Toasht Tó-bet.*—Snake, *Pa-háh.*—Rattle-snake, *Tshroat.*—Hair, *Yo-ot.*

SOME PHRASES IN ACAGCHEME.

Sepúl á-uck Diós a-wúluv. There is only one Great God.
O-yósh shé-o-cu-let. God will punish you.
Toó-she me-rúp. Don't forget.
Me-wai? How are you?
Me-wai'no-náh? How are you, father?
Me-wai'no-cam? How are you, son?
No ló-veck. I am well.
No hă-ke-le-chel. I am hungry.
Wó-meng na hán-mel. Now I am old.

NUMERALS.

Sepúl, One.—*Queh,* Two.—*Páhai,* Three.—*Queh-sáh,* Four.—*Mahár,* Five.

Asked about other numbers, Acú insisted: *no hay mas,* there are no more. If they must go above five the Indians show the fingers of both hands, and if that did not suffice, they would turn to the toes of the feet.

G

THE LANDMARKS CLUB AND MISSION RESTORATION

A pleasant duty remains to be performed—to give credit to whom credit is due. We frankly confess, with the worthy pastor of San Juan Capistrano that, if the restored buildings of the ancient Mission of San Juan Capistrano are not now mere piles of adobe, like those in the rear, it is due to the Landmarks Club, and particularly to Mr. Charles F. Lummis, its founder and president. A more able writer will tell us who Mr. Lummis is, and the president himself will expain the aims and work of the Landmarks Club.

"A missionary enterprise of a peculiar character has been in existence for some time on the Pacific slope," wrote the Rev. J. T. Roche, LL.D., in *Extension Magazine* some years ago. "It was founded by Protestants and has been supported by them from the beginning. This enterprise is known as the "Landmarks Club" of California, and has for its object primarily and principally the preservation of the old Missions. Charles F. Lummis of Los Angeles, who founded it, is not a Catholic. . . . Following in the steps of Bandelier, he forced the "armchair historians" to rewrite the pioneer period of American history, and particularly those chapters which bear upon the

lives and deeds of the early Spanish explorers. The men who won this "bare brown land to Christ at the price of incredible dangers, hardships, and sufferings" have found an admirer, a eulogist, and a historian who does them ample justice after the lapse of many generations. . . . He has held up the old mission plan as the most just, humane, and equitable system ever devised for the treatment of an aboriginal people. . . . His books are a never-failing source of delight. He has helped to relegate Prescott and the New England school of historians to the literary scrap-pile, and has made it possible for the present generation to admire the great Catholic pioneers, who sowed the seeds of civilization in the great Southwest a century before the Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock. This is the man who has been the founder and the guilding spirit of the Landmarks Club. . . . The

EAST SIDE OF STONE CHURCH, SHOWING ATTEMPT TO REBUILD WITH ADOBES.

Society is devoting much of its attention to San Juan Capistrano, in its day the noblest ecclesiastical edifice in the present territory of the United States. . . . The executive officers of the Landmarks Club are nearly all Protestants. Mr. Lummis himself is president, and the work is supported by the free-will offerings of an interested public."

"Among the last days of 1895," Mr. Lummis himself wrote in his magazine *Out West* some years ago, "a number of Californians, restive under our general American carelessness of history and its legacies, incorporated the Landmarks Club to conserve the Missions and other historic landmarks of Southern California. . . . The old Franciscan Missions were inevitably the first point of attack for the Landmarks Club, and will long continue to be its chief concern, though not its only one. This for the very simple

reason that they are as a group by far the most imposing, the most important, and the most romantic landmarks in the United States, architecturally and historically. There is nothing whatever, east of New Mexico, to compare for a moment with these wonderful monuments, which the Franciscan missionaries built in the wilderness more than a century ago. Few people, even to-day, and even in California, have a remote conception of the magnitude and cost of the 21 Missions and several branches built in California for the Indians, beginning before the Declaration of Independence.

"It is to be borne in mind always that these Missions were not merely churches for the Indians. They were that—and in all the Eastern States our Superior Race never has built, to this day, one church for the Indians remotely rivaling the poorest of these; and none too many as noble for its own people. It is enough to make one gasp to realize that the stone church at San Juan Capistrano, which was built with untutored Indian labor nearly a hundred years ago (Mr. Lummis wrote before the centennial of its dedication) could not be rebuilt to-day, with a railroad at its doors, for $100,000. And this church is but a small part of the whole plan of Capistrano. Nor were the Missions merely schools for religion and primary education. Nor were they only industrial schools. They were all these things; and they were, besides, little walled cities, in some of which lived, at one time, nearly 3,000 people. Of these all, but perhaps a dozen, were Indian neophytes, converted, taught to read and write, to sing, to play musical instruments, to spin, weave and make clothing—they had always gone naked before—to be good carpenters, masons (the stone church, pillars and arches are in evidence), tanners, gilders, wagon-makers, blacksmiths, soap-makers, candle-makers, shoe-makers, farmers, orchardists, vintners—makers of olive oil; who had been taught to dwell in houses instead of brush hovels; who had been taught the use of domestic animals—oxen, cows, horses, sheep, fowls and all the rest that we employ to-day—for there were no domestic animals whatever in California when the Franciscans entered—and otherwise trained in all the handicrafts necessary for a self-supporting community in a country farther from civilization, and farther from a store, than any corner of Africa can be said to be to-day.

"Disestablishment—a polite political term for robbery—by Mexico (rather by native Californians misrepresenting the Mexican Government) in 1834, was the death blow of the Mission system. The lands were confiscated; the buildings were sold for beggarly sums, and often for beggarly purposes. The Indian converts were scattered and starved out; the noble buildings were pillaged for their tiles and adobes. . . . At a few of these Missions, the Church—which finally recovered, under our government, title to at least the buildings of which it had been robbed—still maintains services and occupation. At other Missions—and these are the specific concern of the Landmarks Club—there are no longer congregations. The diocese is poor, and cannot, of course, maintain these enormous establishments simply as his-

torical monuments. Only a hopeless narrowmindedness can object that the legal title to these ruins is vested in the Catholic Church. To scholars, and to those ample enough in heart and head to be worthy to be named American, this is in fact an ideal status. If these monuments belonged to the State, they would become the prey of politicians; if they were in private hands, they would presently be sold. Even the Landmarks Club is liable to change with time; but, if there is any human institution which is permanent and invariable, it is the Catholic Church. It has seen innumerable governments rise and fall and go forgotten; and it is still doing business at the old stand. It could sell these venerable buildings, so far as the law goes; but it will not. With this stability of ownership, surpassing even the English law of entail, there is something to work on. And the vital fact is that whoever "owns" these monuments, they are yours and mine, and every other one's who cares for beauty and romance. They are here, a graphic lesson on the blackboard for us, for our children, and our children's children, *in saecula saeculorum;* an example in artistic and architectural beauty, in sincerity, in heroism, and in the manhood which can do the impossible.

"When the Landmarks Club was incorporated, the most important of the Missions within its geographical scope were falling to pieces with a rapidity that was nothing less than appalling. . . . San Diego, the mother Mission, San Juan Capistrano, San Fernando, Pala a branch of San Luis Rey—all these were practically deserted and in ruins. *If the Club had not done the work it has done in the last seven years* (before 1907), *there would be practically nothing left of any of these four Missions.* Aside from the looting of their tiles to roof neighboring pig-pens, the decay of the sycamore branches which served as rafters caused the tiled roofs to break down; and the adobe walls were melting into indistinguishable mounds. *It is no exaggeration to say that human power could not have restored these four Missions if there had been five years' delay in the attempt.*

The Club has already so safeguarded the chief structures at these Missions that they will last practically as they are, for at least another century. . . . The Club has roofed three huge buildings at Capistrano, two at San Fernando, and one at Pala. It has altogether replaced about 52,000 square feet of roofs—more than half that amount being covered with the ancient tiles. . . . The first work of the Club was done at that gem of all the Missions, San Juan Capistrano; and the latest work also, for in so huge an undertaking it was necessary first to take the most important points. At Capistrano the Club has re-roofed, with tiles, 387 feet in length of the principal buildings—including the *old adobe church which Serra himself founded* —with a total roof area of 9,640 square feet. It has re-roofed with gravel and asphalt—as they were originally—an area of 5,250 square feet of corridors; and it has just finished re-roofing, with a shake roof, the southwesterly building, 112 feet long, and with roof area of 4,150 square feet. It has also rebuilt serious breeches in adobe walls, and tied in, with iron rods, some

MONUMENT TO FR. SERRA AT MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

walls that were about to fall outward; has buttressed the crumbling stone pilasters which support all that is left of the great stone church from the earthquake of 1812; has removed about 400 tons of debris from fallen walls and roofs; has put in an irrigation system which serves to keep alive a little mission garden; and has, in general, brought order out of the wreck—as may be approximately judged by the accompanying photographs.

"So far as is known, the Landmarks Club was the first incorporated body in the United States to undertake such work on such a scale, considering the geographical area covered, the magnitude of the work to be done, and the length of time it will require. It has had no public monies of any sort, but has secured all its funds by private contributions. Its members are scattered all over the world. . . . There are no salaries in the Club; contributions go direct to the work of preserving the landmarks."

The preceding much abbreviated statement of the President of the Landmarks Club is so clear and true that comment is unnecessary. The Landmarks Club, especially its President, Mr. Lummis, and its architect Mr. Arthur B. Benton, deserve the highest praise for their lively interest, generosity, and broadmindedness. For the last ten years the Club was enabled to devote itself to the restoration of Mission San Fernando, because during this period the Rev. St. John O'Sullivan, the pastor in charge of San Juan Capistrano, had undertaken to continue the work of restoration alone. What the energetic Father has effected with limited means can be judged by all who visit the place. He has his heart set on completing Fr. Serra's church. Many thousands of dollars have aready been expended for this purpose. Ere long, please God, the Rev. Father will find his efforts crowned with the success he so well deserves. It should also be noted, as characteristic of the Rev. Father's devotion to Fr. Serra, that he began the work of restoration by erecting a graceful monument to the founder of the Mission. It occupies the place of honor in front of the Mission, and was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies on Thursday, August 13, 1914,—201 years after Fr. Serra's birth. It is the only monument of Fr. Junipero Serra at a Mission in Cali- Likewise the only railroad station in California named for the Founder of the California Missions is situated near Mission San Juan Capistrano.

INDEX

A

Abella, Fr. Ramon, 225
Abila, Guadalupe de, 209
Acágcheme language, 245-246; nation, 62
Account Book of Rev. J. Mut, 208-209; of Rev. J. Rosales, 190-191
Acebedo, Julian, 7
Activities of the Landmark Club, 249-251
Activo, ship, 44-47
Acú, see José de la Cruz
Adobes or unburnt bricks, 16
Afanador, Padre, 46
Agricultural products, 26, 88, 184-185
Agua Caliente, 151, 205
Aguilár, Anastasia, 187; Isidoro, 39; Rosário, 146, 155
Aguirre, José A., 117
Alamos, Los, 39
Alemany, Most Rev. José Sadoc, O. P., 164-169, 194
Alipás, Juan, 70, 75
Alisos Rancho, 161
Allowance of the missionaries, 129-130, 132
Altar, New, 39
Altar wine, 104
Alvarado, Juan B., 83, 117-119, 122-123, 126, 129-131, 138, 142, 147, 149
Amat, Rt. Rev. Thaddeus, C. M., 204-206
Amúrrio, Fr. Gregório, 3, 4, 6-8, 13, 15, 16, 22, 173, 195, 212-213, 215
Anaheim, 209
Annual Reports, 26-27
Anza, Juan Bautista, 241
Anzar, Fr. José Ant., 183, 225
Aqueduct of brick, 49
Arches and Pillars of brick, 40
Arellano, Fr. Ignacio Ramirez de, O. P., 183, 187
Argüello, Conception, 152, 154; Luis Ant., 70, 72, 75; Ramón, 125-127; Santiago, 62-64, 120-122, 125, 126, 130, 132, 138, 139, 145, 146, 152, 155
Arrillaga, José Joaquin, 37, 43, 47, 50
Arizpe, Ramón, 75
Armenta, José Joaquin, 7
Arroita, Fr. José de, 215
Arroyo de la Mision Vieja, 87, 91; Santa Maria Magdalena, 241; Trabuco, 87, 91
Artisans or mechanics, 33, 35, 36
Auction, Mission sold at, 157, 161
Aurélio arested, 37
Autographs of FF. Amúrrio, 17, 172; Barona, 222; Faura, 218; Fustér, 215; Mugártegui, 172; Oliva, 224; Santiago, 219; President Lincoln, 169
Autos-de-Visita, 181
Avila, Anastacio, 50

B

Back to the old church, 57
Ballesteros, Juan, 50, 51
Bancroft, 7, 36, 77, 78, 80, 86, 103, 104, 114, 117-119, 135, 136, 228, 241
Bandini, Arcadia, 209; Juan, 118, 129, 135, 136, 144-147, 149, 152, 153
Banister or balustrade, 49
Baptism, First, in California, 237-238, 240; first at Mission, 11, 16; first white, 25, 183, 186
Baptismal Font, 178
Baptistry, 29, 180
Baptism of converts, order observed, 178, 179
Barona, Fr. José, 49, 53, 54, 57, 64-78, 83, 94, 99, 103-105, 179, 181, 198, 221-223
Barracks of the guards, 16
Battle at the Mission, 118-119
Beechey on Emancipation, 82
Bells of Mission, 6, 7, 25, 235, 242-243
Beginning of the end, 140
Beltrán, Nicolas, 8
Benton, Arthur B., 9, 251
Bishop of California, see Diego, García; of Sonora, 58, 80
Blacksmith, 39
Blankets, 33, 35, 36
Boca de la Playa, 207
Bogotá, South America, 63
Borica, Diego, 33, 35, 36, 51

Boscana, Fr. Gerónimo, 68-70, 78, 79, 103, 104, 181, 228
Bouchard, Hipolite, 62-63
Bricks, Burnt, 28, 39, 40
Brigida, 24, 192
Bucareli, Antonio Maria, 3, 6, 13, 18, 19, 213
Buenaventura, Pedro, 25
Buenos Ayres, 62, 63
Building, First, 15
Building activities, 27, 37, 39, 40, 44, 49, 53, 57
Burial, First 24-25, 195
Burial Register, 195, 197
Burials without coffins, 198

C

California Archives, 26, 103
Calleja, Felix M., 49
Camino Reál, El, 25, 26, 237
Cañada de los Bautismos, 240; de San Francisco Solano, 238; de Santa Magdalena, 237-240; de Santa Praxedis, 238; de los Rosales, 237, 238; Verde, 205
Cañedo, José, 69-75, 198
Carabanas, Nicolas, 7, 15
Carmelo, 45, 74
Carpets at Mission, 35
Carranza, Fr. Domingo, 221
Carrillo, Carlos A., 118, 119; José A., 118; Mariano, 8
Castañares, Manuel, 142
Castro, José, 118, 119
Cattle brand, 86
Cattle, Mission, 4, 89, 130-131, 182; valuation, 191
Cemetery, 25, 43, 195, 198
Cerro de Trabuco, 89
Chapel of hospital, 57
Chavarria, Nicolas, 63
Children of savages, 186-187
Chimney of the pozolera, 31
Chinigchinich by Fr. Boscana, 60-62
Church, First, 16-18, 174-178; Fr. Serra's, 249, 251; of stone, 28, 40-43, 54, 171, 178
Church property restored, 164-169
Ciénaga, 89, 130, 139, 151
Climate of Mission, 10
College of San Fernando, 13, 21, 39, 41, 170, 181, 212, 214, 218, 224
Colorado River, 186
Comisário Prefecto, Fr., 181
Concepcion, ship, 212
Conditions at Mission, 142, 149, 155
Conference with Echeandia, 80
Confirmation administered, 18, 22, 24, 173-174, 176, 194, 209
Confiscation planned, 94, 105-106, 110, 115-116
Constitution of Mexico, 79
Contemptible tactics, 228
Contributions, Forced, 78, 109
Contributions for support of priest, 190-191
Conversions numerous, 11, 178-180; labor involved, 178-180
Cooks of the friars, 15-16
Correspondence, 35-36, 50-53, 66-75, 126-127, 130-134, 151-154
Corridors, 39, 40
Cortina, Joaquin, 45
Costansó, Miguel, 235, 237
Cota, Ant., 186; Guillermo, 64-66
Cotton goods, 33, 36
Covarrúbias, Onesimo, 187
Crespi, Fr. Juan, 11-12, 197, 235, 237, 238
Criminal relations, 44-47
Cruzado, Fr. Antonio, 214
Cueva, Fr. Pedro de la, 41, 43, 218
Cuinavam, Maria Dolores, 198
Cuñado, Salvador, 205
Custom, Irreverent, 183

D

Dana, Richard H., 99-102
Dana's Bay, Cove, 102
Date of Mission founding, 7, 13
Davidson's Pilot, 99
Death without Sacraments, 200, 206, 227
Death of master mason, 40
Decay of Mission, 84-85, 116-117, 122, 139
Decision of Mexican President, 75
Declaration of Independence, 248
Decree of Spanish Córtes, 109-110
Dedication of stone church, 41-43
Degradation of Mission, 155
De la Guerra, José, 62, 64, 155, 221
Delfin, José, 121, 122
Description of Mission, 97-99
Despoilers of Mission, 149
Diego, Rt. Rev. García, O.F.M., 148-149, 188, 191, 194
Dionisio, Indian, 125
Disaster, Lamentable, 53-55
Dispute, Land and Cattle, 64-68

Dissolved, Indian Community, 138, 140-142
Doctrina or Reduction, 93
Documents destroyed, 77-78
Dolores, or San Francisco, Mission, 224
Domes of stone church, 40
Dominguez, José. D., 7
Donations to Mission, 26
Done to death, Mission, 155, 158
Drafts on Mexico, 68
Duhaut-Cilly, 228
Durán, Fr. Narciso, 77, 105, 111-112, 116-117, 126,127, 136, 151-154, 156-157, 181, 194, 205, 225
Dyeing cloth, 33, 35, 36

E

Earthquake of 1812, 39, 53-55
Echeandia, José M., 79, 80, 82, 85, 94, 103-105, 107, 109-111, 127, 171, 187, 223
Emancipation, 80, 82, 94, 111-116, 125, 129
Emory, W. H., 160-163
End of the struggle, 140
English invasion, 37
Enramada or arbor, 4, 7
Entries of first Baptism, 15-16; important, 171
Epidemics, 205
Escudé, Fr. Jayme, 181
Esténaga, Fr. Thomas Eleuterio, 153, 183
Estévan, Fr. Pedro de, 217
Estrada, J. M., 124
Estudillo, José M., 78, 85, 127, 132
Ezquer, Ignacio, 115, 118

F

Fages, Pedro, 26
Fanéga, A, 185
Faura, Fr. José, 41, 43, 44, 49, 178, 217, 218
Females, Work of, 31
Fevers, Contagious, 40
Figuér, Fr. Juan, 212
Figueroa, José, 111, 225
Fire at Mission, 40
Flag of truce, 160
Floods, Disastrous, 87-88
Flores, José M., 160
Flores, Las, 87, 118, 119, 160, 161
Fluge (Flügge), C. W., 160
Font, Fr. Pedro, 241
Fontain, Rev. Flavian, 204
Forbes, Alexander, 170-171
Forster, John, 155, 157, 159, 161, 187; Moreno, 209
Franciscan, The last, 200
Freed, Indians to be, at last, 142
Friars faithful to Indians, 130-134; patient, 45; slandered, 45-47; hospitable, 95
Fruits, First spiritual, 171
Fruits, Various, raised, 11
Fuentes, José A., 115, 174
Fustér, Fr. Vicente, 28, 29, 33, 35, 39, 43, 197, 214-219, 242

G

García, Hilário, 70, 73, 75
Gente de Razon, 87, 91
Girls at the Mission, 31
Gladden, George, 102
Gloria, Jacinto, 7, 15
Gómez, Fr. Francisco, 238; Rev. Miguel, 204; Nicolas, 7
Governor, Last inglorious, 159
Goycoechea, Felipe de, 36
Grain fields, 88, 89
Grájera, Antonio, 36, 37
Grape wine, 10-11, 39, 40
Greedy Californians, 80, 91, 94, 107, 114, 129-135, 138, 140, 147, 149, 155, 161
Grogan, Rev. P. J., 209
Guards, Mission, 7
Gutiérrez, Nicolas, 130

H

Habitations, Indian, 16
Hartnell, William, 122-124, 126-127
Hemp culture, 50-53
Henry, Charles, 206-207
Hittéll, Theodore, 63, 82, 135, 142-144, 157
Hocker, Benjamin, 205
Holbein, Rev. Juan, 187
Hospital chapel, 57
Hospitality of the friars, 95, 98
Hotbed of vice, 187
Hymns sung at Mission, 30-31

I

Ibárra, Fr. Francisco González de, 182, 200
Indian attack, 7-8; children adopted, 186-187; contented with Fathers, 111, 123, 170-171; well disposed,

11, 12; disappear, 205; habits, 16, 58-60; laborers, 51; language, 245-246; marriage, first, 192; mechanics, 248; oppressed, 121, 124, 130-131, 186; rancherias, 244-245; right to land, 92-94; remnant at Mission, 155; turbulent, 116-117.
Insolent soldiers, 69-77
Insurgents, South American, 62-64
Interpreters employed, 11
Inventory of Mission, 115, 121
Irrigation, 87-88, 112

J

Jackson, Helen Hunt, 207
Janssens, V. E. A., 129, 135, 136, 138, 139, 146, 151
Jauro, Policarpo Ant., 55
Jayme, Fr. Antonio, 103; Fr. Luis, 214, 215
Jimeno, Fr. José Joaquin, 194, 201; Manuel, 123, 124, 138, 147, 148
José de la Cruz, Old Acú, 245-246
Jualequet, Leandro, 195
Julian, Capitan, 142
Justice of the Peace, 147

K

Kearny, Gen. S. W., 160, 161
Kentucky, 99, 205

L

Labor, Indian, desired, 50-53
Laguna, 89
Lamentable disaster, 53-55
Language at Mission, 26, 245-246
Land Commission, 163
Land grants excessive, 134-135
Land grab beneficiaries, 140-142
Land lots assigned, 140-142
Landmarks Club, 209, 246-251
Landsharks, 206-207
Land surveyor lacking, 87
Lands of Mission, 87, 89, 91
Last Franciscan, 227
Last of the tribe, 142
Lasuén, Fr. Fermín Fransico de, 3, 4, 6, 26, 35, 39, 40, 94, 194, 213, 215, 221, 235, 241, 242
Laws on Indian rights, 92-93
Laws against Spaniards, 103
Llave, Pablo de la, 75
Leandro, Juan, 151, 154
Legend, Pretty, 29
Legislative Assembly, 85-86
Letters of Fr. Zalvidea, 105, 109-110, 130-134, 151-154
Liberata, Maria, 204
Liberalism, School of, 149
Library of the Fathers, 115
Life at Mission, 58-60, 170-180, 233-235
Linares, Fr. Antonio, 214
Lincoln's signature, 169
List of missionaries, 228-231
Live Stock, Mission, 26, 182
Llover, Rev. Vicente, 205
Looms set up, 33
Lorenzana, Apolinaria, 201
Loreto, 39, 212, 214
Lower California, 11, 192
Los Angeles, 50, 51, 63, 67, 103, 125, 129, 147, 153, 155, 159, 187, 209, 246
Los Angeles Times, 102
Los Cristianos, 240
Lummis, Charles F., 209, 246-251

M

Machado, Hilário, 83
McKinley, James, 157
Magdalena, Indian, 125
Maitorena, Joaquin, 43
Manual training schools, 211
Manzanillo, 212
Martín, Fr. Fernando, 70, 72, 225, 228
Martínez, Ignacio, 43, 218
Martínez, Fr. Luis, 63
Marriage, First, at Mission, 24
Master mason, 37, 39, 40
Matrimonial Banns, 152
Measles, Epidemic of, 197
Melancholy of Fr. Oliva, 225
Mendoza, Mariano, 33, 35, 36
Mendoza, Mariano, 33, 35, 36
Mexico against paisano meddling with Missions, 156
Micheltorena, Manuel, 156
Miguel, Fr. José de, 41
Military arrogance, 69-77
Mission life, 170-180
Mission system, 248
Mission looted, 62-63; mulcted, 109; returned to Franciscans, 156
Missionaries, Stipend of, 19
Mofras, Duflot, 149-151, 245
Monjério, home of girls, 31
Monument to Fr. Serra, 251
Mora, Rt. Rev. Francis, 209

Moraga, Vicente, 123
Moreno, J., 140
Mortality, Indian, 195, 205
Mouths, Many, to fill, 121-122, 126
Mugártegui, Fr. Pablo de, 7, 8, 11, 13, 16, 19, 21, 24, 25, 171, 173, 174, 195, 213-214
Murder by Aurelio, Indian, 37
Mustard plant, 87-88
Mut, Rev. José, 194, 205, 206, 209

N

Naudavam, Praxedis, 195
Neophytes turbulent, 83, 85, 107
Neve, Felipe de, 18, 19, 21
Niceto, Benito, 180
Nieto, Antonio, 65; José, 64; Manuel, 135
Nietos, Los, 134
Niguil, 132, 139
Noriega, José de la Guerra y, 153
Nuez, Fr. Joaquin Pascuál, 181
Numbers erroneous, 192, 200

O

Oath of Allegiance, 79; of Indedendence, 79
Ochoa, Tomás, 152
Oliva, Fr. Vicente Pascuál, 183, 187, 192, 198-202, 224-228
Olvera, Augustin, 140, 146, 149, 152-155
Ontivéras, Patricio, 57
Ordáz, Fr. Blas, 72, 189, 200-202, 227
Ortega, José Francisco, 4, 6, 8
Ortega, Pilar, 152
O'Sullivan, Rev. St. John, 227, 228, 242-245, 251
Owners have equal rights with intruders, 138

P

Pablo, Antonio, 44, 47
Pacheco, Romualdo, 83
Paganism, Life in, 58-60
Paisanos, 80, 85, 118-119, 139
Pajomit, Gabriel, 198
Pala, San Antonio de, 205, 249
Palóu, Fr. Francisco, 4, 7, 10, 25, 44, 94, 192, 212, 214, 215, 235, 241
Pascuál, Mateo José, 63
Passport demanded, 131
Pastor, A, harassed, 206-209
Patio, Mission, 31
Pattie, J. O., 98-99, 103, 104
Payéras, Fr. Mariano, 62, 65, 66, 68, 69, 78, 181, 221
Peña, Francisco, 7; José Antonio, 7, 8
Peña, Fr. Tomás de la, 214
Peons, Indian, 50-53
Peyri, Fr. Antonio, 41, 69, 103, 223
Pico, Andrés, 125, 126; Concepcion, 187; Isidora, 187; José Ant., 115, 120, 130, 206
Pico, Pio, 117, 121, 126-127, 129, 135, 139, 156, 157, 159, 163, 187, 191, 206
Pilgrim Fathers, 247
Pious Fund, 19, 148-149; on a small scale, 132, 134
Plan for stone church, 28, 29
Plymouth Rock, 247
Prescott, W. H., 247
President Abraham Lincoln, 169
Priest, First secular, 188
Priests, Dearth of, 206
Prohibitionists, Rabid, 104
Pueblo, Mission, 142-146, 148
Pollerena, Pedro, 36
Portilla, Pablo de la, 112, 114
Portolá, Gaspár de, 3, 24, 235, 237, 238, 241
Poverty of Mission, 117, 153
Pozolera, or Indian village kitchen, 31
Purisima Concepcion Mission, 159, 215, 217, 225

Q

Quanis-Savit, 13, 24, 173, 192
Quieran, Paulina, 55, 198

R

Rancherias, Indian, 244-245
Rancho Agua Caliente, 151; de los Coyotes, 151, 154; Ciénaga de las Ranas, 139, 151; de las Flores, 89, 95; del Refúgio, 62; de Santa Margarita, 195; de San Mateo, 88, 89, 112, 115, 132, 151; Tia Juana, 130
Rations, 19-21
Registers, Mission, 13, 14, 24, 170, 171, 178, 192, 194, 195
Reglamento of 1774, 19; for pueblo of Mission, 144-145
Remains of Fr. Fustér transferred, 43

Remnant of Mission Indians, 142
Reply to Echeandia, 86-94
Report, Fages's, 26; of Fathers, 58-60
Requena, Manuel, 118
Result of paisano rule, 156-157
Retribution, 135, 159
Revolt at San Diego Mission, 6
Rio Agua Caliente, 235, 237, 240; Santa Ana, 64, 88, 241; Trabuco, 241.
Rios, Santiago, 146.
Rivas, Rev. Domingo, 45, 47, 49.
Rivera y Moncada, Fernando, 6, 213, 215.
Roadstead, Mission, 10, 62, 99-102.
Robinson, Alfred, 62, 95-98, 107, 153,
Robles, Manuel, 8.
Rocha, Juan José, 111, 115, 120
Roche, Rev. J. T., 246.
Rodríguez, Antonia, 57; Manuel, 39, 43
Romero, Felipe, 186
Roof of stone church, 40
Rosales, Rev. José Maria, 188-191, 202-204
Rose, John, 63
Rosenbaum Place, 207
Rúbio, Fr. José Maria Gonzáles, 189, 190
Ruelas, bell founder, 242
Ruiz, Francisco Maria, 43, 62; Prudencio, 39

S

Sacraments, Death without, 200, 206, 227
Sad incident, 123-124
Sajivit, Mission site, 13
Sala or Reception Room, 37
Salaries furnished by Indians, 121-122
San Apolinario, 240
San Antonio Mission, 212, 224
San Blas, Port of, 221
San Buenaventura Mission, 45, 46, 75, 204
San Carlos Mission, 3, 8, 24, 73, 181, 213, 224
San Carlos, ship, 212
Sánchez, Agustin, 117
Sánchez, Fr. Francisco Miguel, 214
Sánchez, Fr. José B., 43, 110, 181, 218
San Clemente Island, 241
San Diego Mission, 3, 4, 6, 24, 26, 35, 40, 43, 70, 183, 197, 201, 205, 212, 214, 215, 219, 221, 225, 242, 249
San Diego Port, 8, 10, 45-47, 69, 70, 72, 80, 85, 105, 107, 116, 138, 140, 161, 174, 186, 237
San Felipe, Puerta de, 205
San Fernando Mission, 41, 107, 214, 224, 249, 251
San Francisco Mission, 45, 204
San Francisco Borja Mission, 192
San Francisco Solano, site, 3, 241
San Gabriel Mission, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 40, 41, 79, 89, 98, 103, 110, 130, 155, 180, 183, 187, 189, 201, 213-215, 219
San Jacinto Rancho, 89
San Juan Bautista Mission, 224
San Juan Capistrano, name selected, 3, 4
San Juan Capistrano Point, 102
San Juan Capistrano Mission sold at auction, 157
San Juan de *Argüello*, 145, 146
San Luis Obispo Mission, 3, 41, 63, 159, 212, 213, 218
San Luis Rey Mission, 40, 45, 64, 69, 74, 78, 88, 89, 95, 97, 107, 109, 111, 122, 154, 155, 160, 161, 180, 182, 187, 194, 197, 200, 201, 205, 206, 209, 237, 238, 245
San Mateo Rancho, 88, 89, 112, 115, 132, 151
San Miguel Mission, 208, 209, 224, 225
San Onofrio Rancho, 88
San Pasquál, 161, 205
Santa Ana, Estancia, 89, 194, 209
Santa Anna, President, 149
Santa Barbara, 33, 41, 43, 45, 50, 51, 63, 82, 105, 136, 188, 201, 218
Santa Catalina Island, 241
Santa Clara Mission, 219
Santa Gertrudis Mission, 212
Santa Gertrudis Rancho, 64, 66, 134
Santa Margarita Rancho, 159, 160, 237-239
Santa Rosa, 132
Santa Sinforosa, 237
Santiago, Fr. Norberto de, 28, 29, 33, 35, 39, 41, 44, 49, 66, 197, 217-221, 242
Santiago, Sierra de, 132

Sarría, Fr. Vicente Francisco de, 72-75, 93, 181, 200, 221, 224, 227
Saturnino, 192; Saturnino and Brigida, 24
Savings of Fr. Zalvidea, 135-136
Scandalous cases, 8-10, 44-47, 69-78
Schools, Manual Training, 211, 248
Secularization, 94, 112
Secular priest, First, 202
Sepúlveda, Francisco, 118, 120, 123, 129, 130; José, 129, 130, 139; Miguel, 187
Señan, Fr. José, 55, 57, 69, 70, 72, 75, 77
Senra, Fr. Marcelino, 212
Serra, Fr. Junípero, 3, 6-8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 22, 24, 25, 28, 149, 159, 171, 173, 174, 176, 192, 194, 195, 209, 211, 213, 235, 241, 242, 249, 251
Serra, R. R. Station, 251
Serrano, Maria, 187; Leandro, 89, 209; Ramona, 204
Servants of missionaries, 15, 19
Sierra Gorda Missions, 94
Silva, José M., 115
Síndico of the friars, 152-154
Sinforosa, Indian, 25, 195
Site of Mission, 10, 25, 235-241
Small-pox epidemic, 205
Snake bite disastrous, 198
Soap factories, 151
Solá, Pablo Vicente de, 62, 64, 65, 67, 78
Soldiers, Worthless, 8
Soledad Mission, 200
Solemnities, Dedication, 41-43
Soil and climate, 18, 26
Sonora, Bishop of, 58, 80
Spain's laws for Indians, 92-93
Spinning flax, 33, 36
Statistics, 11, 25-26, 43, 85, 116, 122, 142, 144, 146, 159, 175-176, 182, 184-185
Stipends of missionaries, 19
Stearns, Abel, 136, 153, 154
Stockton, R. F., 160
Stone, First, for church, 28
Strangled to death, Mission, 155, 158
Success of Mission, 175-176, 182, 184-185, 211
Suñer, Fr. Francisco, 49, 50, 53, 54, 57, 65, 103, 179, 180, 198, 223
System, Mission, 170

T

Tallow destroyed, 40
Tamariz, Francisco, 45-47, 49
Tanneries, Mission, 151
Tapia, Tibúrcio, 153
Tápis, Fr. Estévan, 28, 40, 41, 50-53
Temécula, Estancia, 205
Temescal, Rancho, 89
Tepíc, Mexico, 212
Texas Missions, 170
Tiles at Mission, 40
Title page of Register, 13-14
Toro, El, 139
Torquemada, Fr. Juan de, 115
Torrent, Fr. Juan, 35
Trabuco, Arroyo, 91, 238; Cerro de, 89; Rancho, 8, 62, 129, 130-132, 134, 151
Training schools, Mission, 211, 248
Tules for roofing, 28

U

U. S. Flag raised too late, 159
U. S. Land Commission, 164-166
U. S. Patent Restoring property, 164-169
Urresti, Fr. Juan A., 41, 43

V

Vallejo, Mariano, 83, 107, 109, 119, 191; Salvador, 119
Valuation of Mission property, 115, 121
Vancouver, George, 37
Vega, Matias, 7
Vegetables raised, 10, 26
Véjar, Emígdio, 155, 159
Verdugo, Mariano, 50, 51
Victoria, President Guadalupe, 75
Victoria, Manuel, 105-106
Vieja, La, 25, 235, 240; Rancho de la, 115, 131, 132, 134
Viejo, San Juan Capistrano el, 195, 197
Vile conduct of officer, 44-47
Vitoria, Fr. Marcos Ant., 41, 43

W

Water supply, 10, 25, 26, 49, 87, 88, 90-91, 161, 236, 238, 240
Weaver, Mission, 33, 35, 36
Well, Mission, 49
Whites, Baptism of, 25, 183, 186
Wilman, (Virmond?), 152
Wine and grapes, 11, 40, 140

Women disconsolate, 29
Wool and woolen goods, 26, 33, 36
Workman, W., 160
Worms destructive, 139

Y

Yaguajobam, Eutiquia, 198
Yorba, José, 186
Yorba Rancho, 89, 159
Yuiguilli, 131
Yuma Indian children, 187
Yuta Indian children, 187

Z

Zaaxt, Marcelino, 197
Zaldívar, Pedro, 63
Zalvidea, Fr. José Maria de, 41, 79, 94, 103-105, 109-110, 115-117, 119, 122, 123, 125-127, 131, 134-136, 146, 151, 155, 181-183, 192, 198, 199, 200, 223-225
Zamorano, Agustin, 107
Zuñiga, Pio Quinto, 7, 25, 183

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ERRATA: Page 129, line 5 from top, José should read Francisco.

Page 209, line 5 from bottom, Moreno should be Marcos.

Page 220, below engraving, 1860 should read 1865.

Page 245, line 9 from bottom, José de Cruz should be José de Gracia Cruz.

Page 246, under *Numerals, Queh* should be *Oueh,* and *Queh-sah* should be *Oueh-sah.*

Page 251, line 16 from bottom, change *ten* to five.

Page 251, line 3 from bottom, cancel the whole sentence.

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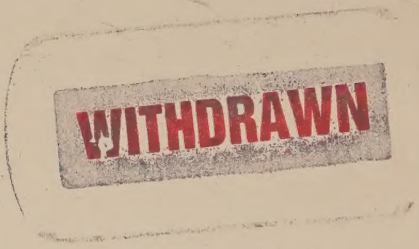

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